DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 142 795 08 CE 011 959

AUTHOR Langsdorf, Michael; Gibboney, Richard A.
TITLE The Career Intern Program: Final Report. Volume I: An Experiment in Career Education That Worked. NIE Papers in Education and Work: Number Seven.
INSTITUTION Gibboney (Richard A.) Associates, Inc., Elkins Park, Pa.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Education and Work Group.
PUB DATE May 77
CONTRACT NE-C-00-3-0122
NOTE 217p.
AVAILABLE FROM Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20208 (single copies available at no cost)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$11.37 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrative Personnel; Admission Criteria; Career Education; Continuation Education; Counselor Role; Dropout Attitudes; Dropout Characteristics; Dropout Programs; *Dropouts; Educational Alternatives; High School Students; Low Income Groups; *Potential Dropouts; Program Administration; Program Descriptions; *Program Effectiveness; Program Evaluation; Secondary Education; Staff Role; Student Centered Curriculum; Student Characteristics; Student Improvement; Student Recruitment; Success Factors; *Urban Youth; *Vocational Development; Work Experience Programs
IDENTIFIERS *Career Intern Program

ABSTRACT

Efforts of the Career Intern Program (CIP) to help urban youth get a basic education and further training or a paying job, are described in this report, written for the educator or school board member interested in a program combining basic and career education for high school youth who are not succeeding in regular schools (dropouts or those likely to drop out because of poor attendance and failing grades). Following an introduction giving a brief overview of the program evaluation design, the first four chapters discuss the high school dropout problem, what CIP is (context, administrative structure, development), four case studies of CIP interns, and characteristics of CIP interns. Chapters 5 through 9 follow the CIP interns beginning 10 weeks after the interns have entered the program, through graduation, and for some, up to a year later, through school and to work. These chapters answer the question: Does CIP have the effects one would expect? Chapters 10 through 12 specifically deal with what contributes to CIP's effectiveness. The question of transportability is addressed in chapter 14, the final chapter. (TA)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

ED142795

NIE Papers in Education and Work: Number Seven

THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM: FINAL REPORT

VOLUME I: AN EXPERIMENT IN CAREER EDUCATION THAT WORKED

By

Richard A. Gibboney Associates, Inc.

Blue Bell, Pennsylvania

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

May, 1977

U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Secretary
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
Emerson Elliott, Acting Director
Education and Work Group
Corinne H. Rieder, Associate Director

Washington, D. C. 20208

CE 011 957

This report was prepared for the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc., which designed and operated the Career Intern Program supported by funds from the National Institute of Education under contract number NE-C-00-3-0122. Evaluation of the program was performed by Richard A. Gibboney Associates, Inc., under a subcontract from Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. The contents of this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or of any other agency of the United States Government.

NIE PAPERS IN EDUCATION AND WORK

The National Institute of Education was created by Congress in 1972 to help solve problems in American education. One of the Institute's major program areas is education and work. As its name implies, the Education and Work Group sponsors research on the nature of the relationship between schooling and work. It also develops programs which aim at increasing the ability of youth and adults to choose, enter and progress in careers without regard to the barriers imposed by sex or race on career aspirations. In order to further professional understanding of these research and development activities, the Education and Work Group publishes a report series, NIE Papers in Education and Work. The following titles have been selected for publication; other titles are forthcoming:

1. The Development of Career Awareness in Young Children, by Aimee Dorr Leifer and Gerald S. Lesser of the Center for Research in Children's Television, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

2. Facilities Handbook for Career Education, by William B. Gill and Ann W. Luke of System Development Corporation.

3. Sex Discrimination in the Selection of School District Administrators: What Can Be Done?, by Doris M. Timpano of Career Women in Education and Louise W. Knight.

4. Entitlement Papers, edited by Norman D. Kurland, New York State Department of Education.

5. Education and Job Satisfaction: A Questionable Payoff, by Robert P. Quinn and Martha S. Baldi de Mandilovitch, Survey Research Center, The University of Michigan.

6. Paid Educational Leave: A Practical Way To Relate Work and Education and An Effective Way To Implement Life Long Learning, by Herbert Levine, Director of the Labor Education Center, Rutgers University.

7. The Career Intern Program: Final Report (two volumes: Vol. I, An Experiment In Career Education That Worked; Vol. II, Technical Appendices).

8. Influences Affecting Women's Participation in Mathematics (Available summer, 1977.)

9. Industry/Education Community Councils (Available summer, 1977.)

OTHER EDUCATION AND WORK GROUP PUBLICATIONS

1. Education and Work Group: Fiscal Year 1977/1978 Program Plan.
2. Education and Work Group: Select List of Products.
3. Directions in Career Education: Answers to Questions People Ask About Education and Work.
4. Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement, edited by Esther E. Diamond.
5. Guidelines for Assessment of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Inventories.
6. The Community Is the Teacher: Experience-Based Career Education.
7. Recurrent Education; edited by Selma J. Mushkin.

Single copies of all the above documents are available at no cost from the Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20208. The postal cards at the back of this book may be used for ordering publications.

EDITORIAL NOTE

A description of the evaluation design and study sample for the Career Intern Program, as well as a discussion of the statistical treatment of the data and copies of the data gathering instruments used in the evaluation, are contained in Volume II: Technical Appendices of this final report. Volume II, which also addresses some methodological issues and rival hypotheses concerning interpretation of the data, is available upon request to the Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education, Washington, D. C. 20208.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS i

FOREWORD, by Elton Jolly iii

INTRODUCTION v

CHAPTER ONE: WHAT IS THE PROBLEM. 1

CHAPTER TWO: WHAT IS THE CIP LIKE?. 13

CHAPTER THREE: THE INTERN AND CIP: FOUR CASE STUDIES .37

CHAPTER FOUR: WHAT ARE INTERNS LIKE WHEN THEY ENTER THE CIP?. 55

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS FIVE THROUGH FOURTEEN 99

CHAPTER FIVE: PROGRAM EFFECTS AFTER THE FIRST TEN WEEKS 101

CHAPTER SIX: COMPLETION AND DROPOUTS. 115

CHAPTER SEVEN: DOES IT WORK?: ARE THE INTERNS BETTER STUDENTS?. 129

CHAPTER EIGHT: DOES IT WORK?: INTERN ATTITUDES AND CAREER MATURITY 143

CHAPTER NINE: AFTER GRADUATION: AT WORK, IN SCHOOL OR AT HOME 161

CHAPTER TEN: IT WORKS: HOW?. 173

CHAPTER ELEVEN: WHAT MAKES IT WORK? CIP PHILOSOPHY. 181

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I (CONT'D)

CHAPTER TWELVE: FROM PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE:
CHANGING ATTITUDES. 187

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: A SENSIBLE CURRICULUM, A STAFF
THAT IS RESPECTED 193

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: WHAT'S TRANSFERABLE?. 201

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph tells about the efforts of the Dr. Leon H. Sullivan, chairman of the board of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OICs/A), and his staff to help urban youth get a basic education and go on to further training or a paying job through the Career Intern Program. The locale is the inner city. The students, for the most part, are those who have dropped out of high school or who are very likely to drop out because of poor attendance and failing grades.

The Career Intern Program was initiated by OICs/A with support for development and evaluation from the U. S. Office of Education and, later, from the National Institute of Education. Support for the program beyond the development phase, which was completed in 1976, is expected from the Philadelphia School System and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The effort reported here, in addition to dealing with an important educational problem, linked extensive formative and summative evaluation to program development and utilization.

Among the people who helped complete the work which has culminated in this report are: Mr. Benjamin C. Lattimore, Program Manager, OICs/A who provided management support for the development and evaluation efforts; Dr. Corinne H. Rieder, associate director for the Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education, whose initial and continuing interest sustained the Career Intern Program; Dr. Lois-ellin Datta, assistant director for the Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education, who critically reviewed and edited the manuscript; and Mr. Albert D. Cunningham, Jr., project officer, National Institute of Education, who coordinated the project and facilitated communication at critical junctures.

Among the people on the Richard A. Gibboney Associates, Inc. staff who desinged the study, collected the data, conducted the analyses, and prepared the manuscript are: Mr. Michael Langsdorf and Dr. Richard A. Gibboney, principal investigators; Dr. David M. Smith and Dr. Arthur Hyde, senior research associates; Mr. James Weiler, director of research; Ms. Angelika Melien and Ms. Elaine Simon, evaluation specialists, and Ms. Karen Ackaff who prepared the cover design.

FOREWORD

In the late fifties, James B. Conant referred to the unsolved problems of urban youth as "social dynamite." Today, in spite of billions of dollars invested in our inner cities and educational efforts, an explosion of greater magnitude than any riot of the sixties is more imminent than ever. Among young people, the level of violent crime, addiction, alcoholism, and gang activity has never been higher. The social and economic costs are being felt by every citizen; those of us whose roots are in the inner city feel the immeasurable waste in our failure to reach our most precious resources, our children.

This book is a final report of how OIC has begun to de-fuse the dynamite by working with the basic needs and problems that face urban youth. We help them find a way out through goal setting, self-motivation, and sincere interest. We are realistic, hardnosed, and understanding.

We work with high school kids who haven't made it in regular schools. Some are hostile; others are quiet; most see little hope of getting an education and a good job. The exciting and hopeful fact reflected in this report is that we are reaching them--some kids have turned the psychological corner. They became interested in our program; they found that others cared; and they began to act more responsibly toward themselves and others.

We have had many failures, too, and this book describes both our ups and our downs. But we are on the way to finding out how to help people study and work and feel better about themselves. That is what we want for more youth, and we are committed to doing something about it now.

Elton Jolly
National Executive Director
Opportunities Industrial-
ization Centers of America,
Inc.

INTRODUCTION

This report is written for the educator or school board member interested in a program combining basic and career education for high school youth who are not succeeding in regular schools. Technical aspects of the evaluation design, a description of the instruments used, and a discussion of the data analysis procedures are covered in a separate technical appendix. Those who want more information on the instruments used or wish to study the array of basic data in depth may find such material of interest. Nonetheless, reading this report will be easier if the reader understands its context in time and the evaluation design on which data summarized in the report are based.

TIME LINE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM (CIP)

Although the Career Intern Program offered service to youth in the fall of 1972, the systematic linking of program development and evaluation began with support from the National Institute of Education in December 1973. As work progressed and tentative conclusions were reached on the time required to develop CIP and evaluate its results, time blocks were created, each with a major focus. This report is based on data collected during the last of the time blocks listed below.

- December 1973 - August 1974: Program development work continued; evaluation to facilitate program development (formative evaluation) and to make a preliminary assessment of major program results (summative evaluation) begun.

- September 1974 - February 1975: Program more fully developed; evaluation used to facilitate the "fit" between the program as implemented and the reaction of interns and staff to the program.

- March 1975 - February 1976: Program developed and implemented; evaluation to assess major results, to provide data to staff on the quality of their implementation efforts, and to document how the program was completed.

OVERVIEW OF THE EVALUATION DESIGN

An evaluation procedure was developed, using a lottery process to determine which students were to be admitted to the program and which ones were not. The lottery process controls for the possible bias which might be present if students who volunteered for the program were compared with the students who did not. The students chosen by lottery to enter the Career Intern Program constituted the experimental group; those not admitted, the control group.

The lottery was held for applicants who had completed interviews, taken achievement and attitude tests, and otherwise completed the pre-enrollment procedures. No applicant knew whether she or he would be in the experimental or control group at the time the entry-level data were collected. Applicants who did not complete the pre-enrollment procedures were not included in the lottery. The experimental nature of the program and the use of the lottery were explained to all applicants and their parents during the pre-enrollment process.

Students were enrolled (and control groups formed) at three times during the period covered in this report: January 1974, June 1974 (CIP operated for a summer semester) and February 1975. Most of these students (called "interns" by the program) completed the program by February, 1976.

Follow-up studies were initiated on as many interns as possible who had completed the program prior to December 1975 and on the control group. These studies were conducted to elicit some data on what graduates did after leaving CIP with respect to jobs held and post-high school vocational or general educational training pursued. The groups from whom data were collected are identified in the report along with other descriptive information.

One other facet of the evaluation needs to be explained--the problem of the changing sample size (i.e., number of students from whom data were collected) reported in the text as different evaluation questions are addressed.

The reader will note, for example, that in Chapter Four the sample size used is sometimes 498, 490, or 404 (reported as N = 498, N = 490, etc.). The sample size varies depending on the number of individuals who completed the particular interviews or tests which supplied data pertinent to the question. Some Ns reflect usable demographic data from the total applicant pool for the January 1974, June 1974 and February 1975 admissions (before the lottery was held). Other Ns reflect the number of students from the applicant pool who completed the tests. All applicants completed the

pre-enrollment interview during which the purpose of CIP was explained. At this point, some decided that CIP was not for them or that they did not want to face another test. This action, or comparable actions, resulted in a larger sample size for personal background information or educational aspirations than for reading scores--primarily since the reading and math tests followed the pre-enrollment interview.

The reasons for the changing sample size are usually clear from the test. Unlike some studies, this study does not have a constant sample size. Several reasons contribute to a shrinking sample size. Control group students, who are not attending CIP, may not have an incentive to return information. Interns may be absent on days tests are given, or they may return to their former schools or take a job. Sometimes data were too incomplete to be usable. Sometimes despite efforts of CIP staff and evaluators, youths on the intern group could not be located at all for post-testing. All of these factors reduce the number of suable data sets and hence the same size.

We have tried to generalize to the appropriate sample as the N's changed, so that the conclusions are valid for that group. However, the reader should be alerted to the need for caution in recalling whether a particular finding was for all applicants, all applicants who took the relevant test, or other sub-groups within the population. Differences in basic characteristics that might affect outcomes are noted where the sample size decreases.

One question that may arise in reading almost any research report is how believable are the findings. Notes on methodology in the Appendix examine several issues related to believability, outlining rival hypotheses and the evidence relevant to these. The findings reported in the test are those on which the evaluators are ready to stake their professional reputations as believable.

The reader might be interested in knowing that the findings are based on a design which has been said to be difficult to achieve in action research: a study involving three separate cohorts of applicants, with participants and non-participants chosen at random from the applicant pool.

The design contributes to believability in two ways. First the replication of findings across three separate groups suggests that whatever is happening, is not a one-time, one group event. Second the true experimental and control groups permit strong inference that whatever is happening is due to the internship experience, rather than to changes which would probably have occurred without OIC.

CHAPTER ONE

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

On Thursday, October 5, 1972, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin reported:

> "The eyes of the nation are upon you, Rev. Sullivan,' U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Sidney Marland said yesterday afternoon after he helped dedicate Rev. Leon Sullivan's new educational center for high school dropouts in Germantown. . . .
>
> "Called the Urban Career Education Center, Dr. Sullivan's new organization will work with Germantown High School pupils who have already dropped out or seem about to. .
>
> "I cannot emphasize strongly enough that this is not simply more vocational education for blacks, something that has properly been attacked in the past as tending to segregate blacks into semi-skilled occupations, reserving college for the white middle class,' Marland said."

The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, founder and chairman of the board of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A), pointed out another dimension of the Urban Career Education Center when he wrote:

> "We want to improve the capability of elementary and secondary schools in order to make them meet the needs of disadvantaged youth. It is not sufficient just to supply quality education, as important as that is: a component like OIC is needed to use its prestige and its contacts in the business community to guarantee that disadvantaged young people have promising opportunities."

In the sense of opening the doors at 62 West Harvey Street to youth and their families, October 5, 1972, was the beginning of the Urban Career Education Center (UCEC) and of its largest component, the Career Intern Program (CIP).

In another sense, the origins of the CIP go further back to the 1960s' problems of apparent dropouts from the American Dream.

DROPPING OUT IN AMERICA

A free public education through high school did not become part of the American Dream until recently. As long as apprenticeships, indenturing or child labor busied almost all youth, education past the sixth grade was limited to children of affluence. Not until the 1930's when adults competed for jobs usually held by youth was legislation requiring full-time school attendance up to age 16 or more enforced.

To parents of the 1960's, some of whom were among the first generation for whom a universal high school education was available, and grandparents to whom a high school diploma was often only a dream, the phenomenon of high school dropouts was incomprehensible. To educational planners, dropouts were part of a pattern including drugs, vandalism, gangs, pregnancy, and fighting in the high schools. To a certain extent, it was thought that problems in high schools would be reduced when alienated youth took their problems elsewhere.

At first, the high dropout rates, particularly among black men, was widely viewed as a cause for alarm. It was feared that dropouts could not find work, would contribute disproportionately to crime, and would indeed only take their problems elsewhere.

These concerns were somewhat soothed by a rise of skepticism concerning the effectiveness of education generally in reducing the gap between rich and poor in America, and by studies suggesting high school completion did not matter that much.

Wholesome as these revisionist studies were in shifting some of the burden of social reform away from schools, the facts suggest that failure to complete high school <u>is</u> a problem for the individual and society.

<u>IT HURTS</u>

Failure to complete high school hurts in a least five ways: ability to find a job, upward mobility, income, work satisfaction, quality of life, and satisfaction with personal development. Two qualifications should be remembered in considering the data. First, although the personal and social costs of dropping out are high on the average, not <u>all</u> dropouts fail vocationally and personally. Many are as satisfied, happy, and productive as their friends who have completed more education.

Second, dropping out (leaving school and not returning to complete an educational step) is what hurts. Stopping out (leaving school for a while, then returning to complete training) apparently is less of a problem.

o Finding a job: Despite the assets possessed by many dropouts, the hard fact is that as a group, they have more difficult time finding a job than their high school graduate peers. Dropouts were more adversely affected by increased competition for jobs in 1974 than were high school graduates. The unemployment rate of dropouts rose almost twice as much (by 4 percent) as it did for high school graduates.

According to the U. S. Department of Labor, 20% of high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974, compared to 10% of the high school graduates. With over 3 million dropouts in the labor force, the number of youth affected is large---close to 600,000 persons between 16 and 24 years of age.

When dropout employment rates are compared by race, youth from black and minority races are doubly disadvantaged. About 16% of white youth without high school diplomas between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974; 32% of dropout youth from black and other minority races wanted jobs and could not find them.

o Upward Mobility: Whether one is a dropout or a graduate, getting a job is not the whole story. To the extent that higher pay and status are valued, being a dropout hurts. Employment rates within occupations vary---to the disadvantage of the dropout. Employed dropouts in the 16 to 21 age group generally do not find work in the more skilled, high paying jobs when compared with high school graduates. For example, in 1973, 55% of employed women high school graduates but only 20% of employed women dropouts held clerical jobs while only 15% of employed women graduates but 28% of employed dropouts were service workers. Among men the differences were less dramatic but, consistently, dropouts more frequently found lower paying, lower status jobs.

o Work satisfaction: The relationship between job satisfaction looks like a stair with wide treads, not an inclined plane. Completing a degree---high school or baccalaurate---is associated with a big jump in job satisfaction, but adding another year without the degree, has little effect. Perhaps it shouldn't be this way, but it largely is. If job satisfaction is important, there is little payoff in getting more education unless one completes a credential. Particularly as one gets older, workers who have not completed high school are more satisfied with their jobs than workers who have not.

o Quality of Working Life: An index of quality of employment (comfort, challenge, and financial resources) was constructed for a 1973 national sample. The results showed a stronger relationship between education quality or employment, with the stair steps very clear: a year is not a year is not a year. Increments in quality of employment came only at those points (high school or college) where educational credentials are conferred. "Little is gained in quality of employment by going from grade school to obtaining some high school education but no diploma." (Quinn et al., p. 34).

o At 30, Satisfaction with Educational Development: Looking backward, respondents in a recent follow-up survey of a national sample of youth of the 50's felt considerable satisfaction with many aspects of their lives: their family, their friends, their work, their community. One area stood out: regret at the missed opportunities in their educational development. While high school and college graduates weren't immune to such regret, those who started---but never completed---their education hurt worst.

These, and other data, add up to the conclusion that for most youth, getting a high school diploma has been and will continue to be important for their lives after high school. The diploma will not be the golden key it might have been for their grandparents, or the silver key for their parents, but it may be a necessary key for them and their children.

HOW MANY

In 1972, 25 percent of U. S. high school students did not graduate from high school at the same time as their age mates---approximately 1,000,000 students in all.[10] The Philadelphia School District reported an overall dropout rate of 15% in 1974 based on students who notified the District that they were leaving school. Many students dropout without such notification. These students would not be counted in the official dropout rate. Even so, at least 9,500 students dropped out of Philadelphia Schools in 1974. Tenth grade, the critical school leaving grade in Philadelphia, when youth reach 16 and are no longer required to attend, accounts for over 50 percent of students dropping out.

Little is known about how many of these youth are only stopping out. There are few data on how many youth return to high school before they are too old legally to receive free public education. Even less is known about the number who will enroll in high school equivalency examination training, will complete such training, will take the General Equivalency Diploma examination, or will pass it.

Dropping out is culturally selective. It hits hardest at families of lower socio-economic status. For both whites and non-whites, the higher the educational level of parents, for example, the lower the chances of a male youth from that family dropping out. Moreover, more non-white youth came from poorer homes, so dropouts come disproportionately from minority youth. In 1973, for example, there were almost twice as many black men and women dropouts among 14 to 24 years olds (18% and 19%, respectively) as white men and women (10% and 11%, respectively).

The data presented document what many inner city students, teachers and parents know---if you are poor, black and if you do not have a basic education which will help you find a job or continue your education, your future is bleak.

Yet, most high schools have not been successful in increasing retention rates through improved or special programs. The problem is more complex than simply keeping youth out of the labor market and in school longer. Few want to force youth to stay in a classroom by increasing the minimum school leaving age to 18 or 21 when many are voting with their feet to get out. Alternative work-study, cooperative learning and community service programs seem to offer meaningful ways of helping youth learn and earn between 16 and 25, but these reach only a few and seem to attract more affluent youth. Improving schools, expanding options, and creating youth service/learning alternatives all are being tried. According to Geisinger (1973),

> "Proposed and mostly unproved innovative practices include a variety of counseling programs, prevention ideas, replacement of the general high school curriculum with the career curriculum, performance contracting, changes in teacher practices, cooperative community approaches, non-graded organization and multiple courses instead of repeating a grade, for students who have difficulty adjusting to school, changes in curricular practices including short units, content in skills training (English, mathematics and reading) that is relevant to the life of the student, replacement of the continual stream of negative reinforcements given students with positive reinforcements (focus on success, individuals, rather than failure) and supplementation of the 'fact school' with a 'value school." (p.21)

> While Geisinger concludes that "...some schools do seem to have helped many of their students", his review suggests that there are more ideas tried out on a small scale than approaches tested long enough and hard enough to offer reasonable assurance of their value. (See also Weisbrod, 1965 and Millsap, 1969). Interestingly, many of the successful innovations (e.g., Massimo, 1969) have emphasized career counseling and development of adaptive skills: punctuality, getting along with others and problem-

> solving. Career information, particulary for non-white youth, has emerged from a recent economic analysis (Hill, 1975) as a public policy alternative to increase school retention where this is desirable."

The Career Intern Program has its origins in these concerns, as a possible solution for the often hard-to-reach youth from very low income, multi-problem families.

THE STORY OF OICs/A

One of the first battles won by community action in the long, bitter and continuing fight for racial equality in employment took place in Philadelphia in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Four hundred black clergymen, outraged at the failure of gradualism, led the boycott of businesses which practiced racial discrimination in employment opportunities. The boycott was called the Selective Patronage Program. One of the initial targets of the Program was the Tasty Baking Company. After three months of the boycott of Tasty's products, the company agreed to hire black workers. As the Tasty Baking Company acquiesced to the demands of the Selective Patronage Program, other businesses followed suit.

Once black workers were allowed to seek employment opportunities, however, most were placed in unskilled jobs because of their lack of training and education. Thus, providing education and training for blacks and other minorities became the motivation for establishing the first Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in an old jailhouse in Philadelphia.

Today, it is often easy to forget the courage and dedication of these clergymen who demanded that jobs at all levels be open to all applicants, regardless of race. The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church on Broad and Venango Streets in Philadelphia, was their leader. The first Opportunities Industrialization Center was founded in Philadelphia by Dr. Sullivan, who was concerned over how few minority workers were qualified to fill the newly available jobs.

By 1974, the local OIC programs sponsored by the national organization (OICs/A) had spread to over 100 cities and had trained about 195,000 persons. The Wall Street Journal described OIC as one of the most successful manpower programs in operation. In April 1974, Thomas Bray worte:

> "As founder and National Director of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Dr. Sullivan has made a career out of self-help for blacks and other minorities. The OIC program began 10 years ago

> in an abandoned police station (sic) in the North Philadelphia slums and has since grown into a network of more than 100 job-training centers across the nation. Over 150,000 disadvantaged and unskilled workers have been trained and placed in jobs ranging from brickworking to court reporting, and labor experts praise the OIC as one of the most successful and efficient manpower programs going."

Until 1972, the OIC programs served mostly out-of-school youth and adults (18 years and over) and emphasized preparation and training for a good job. The Reverend Dr. Sullivan became increasingly concerned, however, with younger people; with youth who might, with a better education, earn a better chance in life. CIP was the result.

CAREER EDUCATION

The interest of OICs/A leadership in preventing adult unemployability through improved education coincided with U. S. Commissioner of Education Sidney Marland's development of the career education concept. As Marland wrote in 1972:

> "Career education is a systematic way to acquaint students with the world of work in the elementary and junior high ears to prepare them in high school and college to enter and advance in a career field carefully chosen from among many. For adults it is a way to reenter formal education and upgrade their skills in their established career fields or to enter a new field. Career education intends to equip the individual to get a useful and self-respecting job."

A career education program for youth

- merges academic and career preparation;
- emphasizes career exploration, expanding options choices;
- provides an in-depth knowledge of how the economic system operates, and what the world of work is like from a wide variety of viewpoints; and
- prepares youth for the continuing education required to enter the career of their choice, for apprenticeship or technical training, or for entry directly into the world of work.

Several factors influenced the formation of the UCEC and the CIP. First, the success of OIC programs in training unemployed adults had resulted in know-how among OICs/A personnel in the difficult area of adult training. Dr. Sullivan's concern with urban youth who were out of school and out of work was a second factor. Could not the OICs/A concern and training expertise help them as well? The final element needed was the concept of combining general and career education for youth. This was provided by Dr. Marland and his staff at the U. S. Office of Education.

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

In 1970, Dr. Marland met with the Reverend Dr. Sullivan at the Seventh Annual OICs/A Convocation in Seattle, Washington. From this meeting came an Office of Education commitment to create an innovative partnership: OICs/A would bring its know-how in training low-income adults, its community-based support, its access to business and industry, and the OICs/A spirit of belief in achievement to the educational needs of inner-city youth, while the Office of Education (OE) would bring not only the money for the first program, but also the support of its staff and their consultants in developing, testing, and disseminating this experimental approach to career education.

The OICs/A leadership envisioned one program, the Urban Career Education Center, with three components: The Career Intern Program (CIP), the Community Career Program (CCP), and the Career Orientation Program (COP). In the spring of 1972 a grant was awarded to OICs/A by the Office of Education to plan and begin initial operation of such a program. OICs/A, in turn, subcontracted with the OIC of Philadelphia (POIC) to operate the program.

In August 1972, the National Institute of Education (NIE) was formed. In February 1973, officials of OE and NIE agreed that the Office of Education program would be responsible for the CCP and COP, while NIE's Career Education Program would be responsible for the CIP. On December 17, 1973, the NIE awarded OICs/A a contract to continue the development of CIP. A second award was made in September 1974 for 18 months to complete program development and evaluation. An interim report (June 1975) described the middle months of a new partnership and a new educational opportunity. The early planning period and the first 12 months of program operation were recalled but not documented. This report deals with the last 18 months of development when the challenges, the disappointments, and the painfully achieved progress of the early months, will, it is hoped, have had their greatest payoff.

The CIP represents an attempt to get at the root of serious urban problems. This objective is reflected in the statement of purpose included in the proposal submitted by OICs/A to NIE in December 1973: "To provide career education and career opportunities for urban youth to prepare them to lead full, productive lives."

Along with other experienced educators, the CIP staff realizes that no one truly understands the problems of urban youth who have dropped out or about to, or knows fully what to do about them. But CIP is putting some of its ideas into action, checking closely on the results achieved, and learning how to help.

To meet this objective, CIP is trying to provide a vital general education to youth, many of whom have not had this opportunity. CIP is also trying to provide a balanced career education program, and to create a personal, supportive school atmosphere.

References

Bachman, Gerald. "Dropouts and Graduates Five Years After High School: A Resurvey of a National Sample of Young Men." Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center Report, 1976.

Cohen, Eli E., Ehrenfeld, Selma, and Greene, Louise. A Guide to the Development of Vocational Education Programs and Sources for the Disadvantaged. National Committe on The Employment of Youth. New York. October 1969.

Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts, 1973. Special Labor Force Report 168. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of Labor. (See Monthly Labor Review, September, 1974).

"Federal Youth Programs: A Discussion Paper," Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, December 1972.

Geisinger, Robert W. "School Dropouts" Department of Education, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, July, 1973.

Hill, C. Russell. "Droppoing Out of High School: The Effects of Family, Ability, School Quality, and Local Employment Conditions." Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. Mimeo, July 1975.

Massimo, J. "Special Education, Guidance, and Remedial Work for the Dropout." Virginia Journal of Education, Vol. 62, February 1969, 22-23

Millsap, Mary Ann. "An Evaluation of Dropout Prevention and Dropout Recovery Programs." Office of Program Planning and Evaluation, U. S. Office of Education. May 1969. Mimeo.

"Philadelphia High School Dropouts, 1970-71 to 1973-74." Report 7505, Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, October 1974.

Quinn, Robert P. "A Policy Study in Education and Work: Job Satisfaction." Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1976.

Quinn, Robert P. and Baldi, de Mandilovitch, Martha S., "A Questionable Payoff," Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center Report, November 1975.

Quinn, Robert P., Staines, Graham L., and McCullough, Margaret R. "Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend?" U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Research Monograph Nov. 30, 1974.

"Survey of Philadelphia High School Dropouts, 1973-74." Report 7541, Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, February 1975.

Tiedeman, David V. and Miller-Tiedeman, Anna. "Career Initiation When Alienation From Secondary Schools Occurs: A Review of the Literature". Washington, D. C.: American Institutes of Research, June, 1974.

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 46 and Series P-20, No. 277, 1974

Weisbrod, B. A. "Preventing High School Dropouts", in Measuring Benefits of Government Investments", R. Dorfman (ed.), Washington: Brookings Institution, 1965.

Young, Ann M. Students, Graduates and Dropouts in Labor Market, October 1974. Special Labor Force Report 180. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS THE CIP LIKE?

Unlike many dreams, the Reverend Dr. Sullivan's dream became a reality. The journey from dream to reality, from idea to working program, was long, often discouraging, sometimes exhilarating, and full of surprises. The following is a recounting of that journey, undertaken collaboratively by OICs/A and the Philadelphia School District.

CIP IN OPERATION

The need for a program like CIP was apparent. Too many students were being turned off by urban high schools. Large numbers of students were dropping out before graduation. Statistics showed their chances of getting satisfying jobs were poorer than for graduates. Many still in school could be identified as potential dropouts, with poor attendance records and little skill in math and reading. They had not acquired career information, nor did they know how to find useful job opportunities. They were becoming increasingly alienated.

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A), with its experience in manpower training programs, not only felt a need for a program to help these students, but saw it as basic to what it was trying to accomplish for its adult constitutency. Programs directed at training adults for the job market, or at bringing employers to the inner city, solved part of the problem. Another problem seemed to lie in the schools. While many schools were helping students, others were turning students off by providing realistic studies. A new kind of school was needed--one which succeeded in instilling usable skills and attitudes in such a way that students' interests were maintained and their dignity enhanced.

Designing a program to solve this problem, however, demanded clearing a number of hurdles. Such a school would have to meet diverse requirements: For example, it would have to be a respectable educational institution, with state-approved diplomas, in order to enlist the active support of the community. The curriculum would have to be different from that of public schools so that it was relevant to the lives of the students, while at the same time, it had to instill the basic skills needed to compete with high school graduates in the job market. A special kind of instructor was called for--one with imagination, idealism, and sense of reality, who was

able to operate without a ready-made educational model. Furthermore, in addition to assuring academic respectability, practical curricula, and dedicated teachers, this school would have to find ways to attract and motivate students with a history of failure.

Calling upon the expertise of its staff, OICs/A found the resources to design and implement such a program. A prototype was ready for implementation by November 1972. During most of 1973 and 1974 the preliminary course materials were revised with the help of counsultants working with CIP staff. Between September 1974 and February 1975, program leadership, structure, and content stabilized. By January 1975, CIP was ready to get the summative evaluation year underway. The program, as sketched below, was designed not only to meet the requirements discussed above, but also to be consistent with the OICs/A philosophy of "focusing upon the needs of the people in a personalized manner."

The Context of the CIP

The Career Intern Program is one element of the Urban Career Education Center concept. UCEC offers a coordinated program to deal with the problems urban youth encounter in seeking meaningful careers. It attacks the problems on three fronts. One component of UCEC, the Career Orientation Program (COP), is designed to serve selected elementary, middle, and junior high schools. It attempts to demonstrate that from effective planning, guidance, and cooperation between UCEC and the school district will lead to a successful career education program in regular schools. The primary concern of COP is to find a way by which career education can be integrated into academic education in traditional public schools.

Another componet of the UCEC is designed to help parents in the community, particularly parents of interns in the Career Intern Program. This component, the Community Career Program (CCP), aids parents in obtaining legal and medical help, housing, and other community services. It involves parents in the education of their children, by making them aware of the school's programs and problems.. Furthermore, CCP provides opportunities for these parents to get job training and placement in better jobs.

The Career Intern Program is the third component in the Urban Career Education Center. The CIP completes the approach of UCEC to the career problem. It is concerned with young people who drop out of public schools and who face severe problems in finding jobs. As part of the UCEC, CIP is vital aspect of the OICs/A effort to develop a community-centered attack on the problems of urban employment.

The UCEC program is only part of the context important to the CIP. Its relationship to the public school system is crucial. The ensure a continuing source of interns and a continuing association with the public schools, CIP developed a special relationship to Germantown and other high schools in Philadelphia. Germantown was designated the primary feeder school for the program. Upon graduation, interns are awarded a diploma from Germantown or from the school previously attended by the CIP student. Germantown High School was chosen initially because it typifies the kinds of problems that are dealt with by the CIP, and is located in the same neighborhood as UCEC. School counselors from the sending schools reported a general pessimism on the part of many students respecting their post-high school prospects. The liaison between the sending schools and CIP is primarily the responsibility of the CIP School District Coordinator (an employee of the Philadelphia School System) and, to some extent, that of the CCP. The roles of the coordinator and CCP in recruitment will be discussed in more detail later.

Progression through the CIP

Each year CIP enrolls about 250 students in grades ten through twelve who are not succeeding in their "home" high school. Students are placed within CIP based on credits previously earned. Darla, for example, with earned credit for the tenth grade English would be placed in English Level 2 (see Figure 1); Larry, who has no science credit but who has successfully passed eleventh grade English, would be enrolled in general science or biology and English Level 3. This initial placement on the appropriate rungs of the CIP curriculum latter recognizes past success, addresses academic deficiences, and reflects an early expression of CIP's desire to create a more personalized environment for learning. (Other efforts to personalize learning, such as the use of individual learning packets, will be discussed later.) How long it takes to complete CIP depends on the number of credits needed by the student to earn a high school diploma. Some students may be in CIP for only one semester; others for one or two years. CIP operates on a two semester plan, offering academic and career ducation experiences over the three grade levels of the typical senior high school (see Figure 1).

Administrative Structure

The primary administrative slots in the Career Intern Program are the UCEC Director, the Instructional Supervisor, and the Counseling Supervisor. The relationship among these various slots is shown in Figure 2, the CIP Table of Organization.

The Director of UCEC is charged with general policy making and overall administration of the entire Center. The Director's primary role is leadership: clarifying CIP's objectives, enlisting the support of staff and outside resources to accomplish these objectives, and building morale to sustain both students and staff efforts. In addition, the Director is the operational head of CIP. These functions include coordinating activities of the CIP units, making decisions affecting policy and practice, and facilitating communication among staff. Furthermore, given the relationship between CIP and OICs/A, the Director serves as a primary channel for communication between the CIP staff and the larger organiation.

The Instructional supervisor is responsible for curriculum development, in-service education, and the Resource Center (library). The Instructional Department is composed of eight teachers. The basic responsibility of this Department is the instruction of interns in the four academic subjects (English, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Science) and in a number of electives. The Resource Center houses information relevant to course materials and independent study. It is designed as a clearinghouse for all materials used by interns, counselors, and staff. It is also a place where interns gather to read, or to pass their leisure time, and is available for independent study assignements.

The Counseling supervisor is responsible for the counseling staff whose work embraces personal and career guidance. The four personal counselors and four job developers help students with their personal problems, assist them to plan and apply for post-high school education, and support students' career development planning.

Job developers also locate work exploration opportunities, guide students through Hands-On experiences (Hands-On will be described in a latter section of this chapter) and evaluate the interns' performance during placement.

In summary, the operational Career Intern Program consists of two departments: An Instructional Department charged with classroom teaching and providing resource materials to teachers and students, and a Counseling Department charged with guiding students through the program, dealing with their personal problems, preparing the interns' individual Career Development Plan, making career information available, and supervising the two-weeks long Hands-On experiences. The structure was devised to provide a firm academic foundation, maximum individualized attention for interns' personal and career problems, and to infuse academic, elective and club activities with career education.

General Program Processes. Four key program features will be discussed here which were designed to provide the kind of education envisioned in the CIP concept. These are: recruitment and intake, the Career Development Plan, intern assessment, and placement of interns.

Recruitment and Intake. Through contacts with the counselors at the sending schools, the CIP School District Coordinator knows who are school dropouts, or who were identified by the counselors as potential dropouts. Potential dropouts are those who have expressed disillusionment with the school, who have a consistent pattern of poor attendance, or who have serious academic problems. Sometimes after the names of potential and actual dropouts are received, the School Coordinator goes to the schools and reviews their records. From these records and from discussions with the school counselors, the School Coordinator decides whether or not a given student might benefit from attending CIP. Following this, a check is made to see if program-entry requirements are met--that is, no major disciplinary problems, and a minimum of a tenth grade education. The School Coordinator then submits the names of qualified individuals to the CCP Program Specialist.

An additional source of names is walk-ins: youth and their parents who have heard of CIP, walk in, and want to enroll. Referrals from sources in addition to the school is a third, and large, source of applicants.

After the applicant list is developed, the Program Specialists send a letter to the parents of the interns and requests that they telephone for an interview at CIP. Home visits are made in an attempt to locate parents who did not respond or whose letters were returned unopened.

The next formal contact prospective CIP applicants and their parents have with the Career Intern Program occurs after parents or applicants notify CIP of their interest. This interaction, called the "intake interview," is conducted by a member of the Counseling Department and a member of the external evaluation team. The objective of the interview, involving both applicant and parent(s), is to explain the nature of the Career Intern Program and the benefit that could be derived by the applicant's enrollment.

Immediately following the interview, while still at UCEC, the prospective applicant is asked to take the reading section of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), Advanced Battery, to determine an entry level reading ability. If the score

is at the fifth grade level or higher, the minimum entry requirements are met and the applicant is asked to take a battery of additional tests.*

From the intake interviews and the testing procedures a pool of potential interns, roughly twice the size of the entering class, is identified. The entering class is chosen from this pool by lottery. Those admitted constituted the experimental group, and those not admitted are the control group. Each group is notified by letter, and those selected to enroll in the program are instructed to report to the school on a given day to begin their formal affiliation with the program.

The Career Development Plan. A second important program feature vital to each intern's participation is the Career Development Plan (CDP). Career Development Plans are written records of the interns' career plans which profile their aptitudes and include the strengths and weaknesses that have emerged from the testing. The CDP also records their Hands-On experience and reactions; indicates the kinds of academic credit they had gained and what's still needed to reach their career goals; and lists post-CIP options they might be interested in pursuing. The primary responsibility for the preparation of the CIP lies with the counselors, who work in conjunction with the students, soliciting input from teachers, job developers and parents. The counselors also obtain additional information from such sources as their own records, test scores, and intake interviews. As the intern continues, the CDP is adjusted to reflect changes in career interest. This flexible plan proveds the framework within which the intern works for the remainder of the Career Intern Program experience.

The CDP serves two fundamental curriculum-instructional purposes. First, it individualizes students' curriculum within CIP by relating their interests and abilities to the CIP resources. Second, it provides a vehicle to bring together teachers and counselors in adapting the general CIP program in a way which makes sense for each student. The major features of the CDP are described below.

---

* The tests included the SAT math and reading tests, Raven's Standard Progessive Matrices (test of non-verbal reasoning test), Rotter's Internal-External Scale, Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory, and Super's Career Development Inventory. Entrace into the program was not predicated upon test scores. The tests and inventories provided a baseline for assessing later intern achievement and attitude change in comparison with a control group. In the operational program, these are not necessary, nor would it be necessary to select interns by lottery, should the number of applicants exceed the available openings.

The general counselor sets up the first meeting on the plan, coordinates the work of all staff involved in its development and later monitors its implementation, incorporating any necessary changes into the plan.

Each student makes a first and second choice of possible careers. The CDP provides a road map of how to get from where the intern is to where he or she wants to go. CIP courses are selected, the student's previous academic history is reviewed, summary comments noted in the CDP, the reason for the later choices are given, and the roster is completed for the CIP work to be done. The student's progress is continuously noted on his/her CDP, so staff can troubleshoot problems before they get serious enough to impede the student's progress. The CDP provides the most complete cumulative record for each student, showing the educational objectives, a plan to reach the objectives, personal and academic background, any changes made in the CDP, and the reason for these changes. Frequent review of the CDP is important in encouraging both interns and staff to keep moving, and to avoid an intern being "locked" into a plan which no long serves her/his purpose.

Intern Assessment. Assessing the progress of interns presents problems. Interns in the program are individuals who have had problems with traditional schools. Furthermore, the goals of the program and the career objectives of the interns do not lend themselves easily to assessment by routine procedures. Since both counselors and instructors play important roles in the growth and development of interns, both have to coordinate their work with respect to the assessment of intern progress. In order for interns to have a realistic set of career ambitions, an accurate assessment of capabilities and potential is essential.

Formal assessment procedures are established at various points in the intern's progress through the program.

The first assessment which takes place is diagnostic testing which occurs within the first two weeks of each intern's enrollment into the CIP. This testing is conducted by each instructor to ascertain intern levels in terms of academic and career knowledge and proficiency.

Mid-term and Final Assessments are conducted to measure intern progress, to ascertain intern problems, to assign intern grades, and to determine intern qualifications for graduation and entry into the next level of activity in intern career ladder progressions.

Disposition conferences are conducted periodically to discuss problems/progress in relation to each intern and to ascertain strategies to continue to assist intern achievement. At the end of each semester students are assigned grades for

the academic courses they have taken. These grades are assigned primarily by instructors, but counselors do have an input, particularly when there are mitigating circumstances, such as prolonged absences. The instructors and counselors try to arrive at fair grade for the interns. Although a grade is assigned, credit (necessary for graduation) is either given or denied for the Hands-On experience. An intern who fails to receive a satisfactory grade on one of the Fused Academics courses might be asked to repeat the course.

Assessment procedures are designed to be consistent with the CIP curriculum. Since the curriculum is based upon individualized instruction and an innovative approach to Fused Academics, rigid criteria are inappropriate. Instructors and counselors, therefore, depend upon their close association with students, the weekly counseling sessions, classroom participation, quizzes, and individual study performance to provide information for making judgments. This approach requires cooperation among counselors, instructors, and job developers.

Placement of Interns. Successfully placing graduates in either jobs or post-high school education is a major goal of the CIP. In the original design the procedural details were not delineated. The general charge to the counseling and career staff is to rely on the services and experiences of the larger OICs/A organization. Indeed, as the first group of interns finished their program, it was apparent that job placement was one area where the resources, reputation, and contacts of OICs/A and the Philadelphia OIC were invaluable assets.

The general procedure envisioned in the proposal relied heavily upon the counseling staff and upon a successful Hands-On experience. If the intern was happy with a Hands-On placement and the employer with whom the intern worked was satisfied, CIP would arrange for the intern to continue in on-the-job training in the same position. Most employers were willing to do this as OICs/A paid the intern's salary.

Thus, where financial assistance was needed to help an intern make the transition from CIP to a job, CIP was flexible and supportive. For some employers (e.g., the Prudential Insurance Company, the University of Pennsylvania or Hahnemann Hospital), no CIP financial aid was needed. Some employers could pay enough to cover almost all expenses, so the graduate needed help only with carfare or lunch money. Some employers could offer a small stipend but not enough for a worker to live on: CIP might pay up to 50% of the graduates' salary. In a few instances, CIP would subsidize employment during the transition period.

The majority of interns found their first job through this procedure, which was intended to provide an effective means of transition from the CIP to the working world. Many of the Hands-On placements and subsequent on-the-job training programs were carried out in actual OIC programs. In some instances a graduate who were not immediately employed used CIP-learned skills to pursue jobs on their own.

For interns interested in college or advanced technical training, the Counseling Department was a resource. One counselor was designated as the college counselor whose job was to know what kinds of programs were available, to assist interns in making applications, and to arrange school interviews for interns.

The degree of success in graduate placement is shown by the employment and college enrollment statistics presented in Chapter Nine.

THE PROGRAM AS IT DEVELOPED: THE HURDLES

The preceding section described the CIP as it now operates. This section looks backward, and describes the development stages. The obstacles in translating the original plan into a working school were formidable. Most of them stemmed from the innovative and complex nature of the program. These problems and the solutions found will be mentioned here because they were important in determining the "final" shape of the CIP.

Administration

One of the most difficult tasks was working out procedures to administer the program. While the formal lines of authority and responsibility were clearly drawn on paper, they did not reflect the real demands placed upon administrators in serving several "masters." Administrators felt a number of conflicting pressures. There were the demands of the basic OICs/A ethos to provide help to all who needed it, which sometimes conflicted with the demands of the evaluation design. Administrators were often confronted with the choice of appearing inflexible in the face of a request for an exception to the experimental design or of compromising the assignment of students to the experimental or control groups on the basis of a lottery.

For example, one afternoon the School Coordinator called the external evaluation office about an intern who had dropped out of CIP to go into military service. He failed the army physical and applied for readmission to the program. His re-entry under those abnormal conditions would have risked skewing the experimental evaluation design. The School Coordinator, concerned with helping the intern, found himself helpless and frustrated in his attempt to do what he saw was his job.

In another case an applicant failed badly on the reading test and under normal circumstances would have been dropped from further consideration. However, investigation revealed that he lived in a home for boys and would have to be sent to a detention center if denied admission to a school. Again, the question had to be faced: "Can the program 'bend' to accommodate those whom (in the eyes of the program staff) it is designed to serve?" In both these instances the issues were resolved in favor of admitting the intern.

The demands for academic excellence and administrative efficiency had to be balanced against the realities of urban life and humanistic concerns. This conflict was couched in questions like: "Do we hire certified teachers although others are better qualified to understand the unique problems of inner-city kids?" "Because an applicant cannot read at a fifth grade level, do we keep that person from entering when she or he desperately needs and wants an education?" "Do we hire only qualified people for whom there is already a slot, or do we hire needy people and either train them or change the program to accommodate them?" These questions were posed repeatedly in many forms and demanded administrative decisions.

There were other conflicting demands felt by the administration--pressures to make the program look good to observers; pressures to maintain the students' motivation and interest, and at the same time bring up their scores on standardized tests; pressures to use curricula developed (in part) by consultants, and at the same time adapt it to the problems of the CIP classrooms.

In virtually every case, these decisions had to involve skillful compromises. For example, resisting the temptation simply to make cosmetic changes in response to observer criticism, while at the same time recognizing the importance of a "good press," OICs/A assigned staff to draw up and monitor action plans to ensure needed change. Classes in test sophistication were introduced both to help interns develop skills related to taking standardized tests and to aid them in overcoming the anxiety which most seemed to feel when confronted by such instruments. The problem of implementing curricula was solved by conducting intensive workshops which brought consultants and staff together.

Dealing with these pressures required not only a workable administrative structure and clear administrative policy, but an administrative staff equal to the demands. Such personnel had to meet several requirements. They had to have a clear philosophy of administration-knowing how to use pressures, when to buffer staff from pressures, and so forth; they needed a feel for and a conviction about the overriding goals of the program; they had to be imaginative and able to work without role-models; and they had to feel secure about their abilities.

In the early stages the program encountered serious problems in finding qualified people and groped for proper procedures. The causes were many but were mainly related to the undefined nature of the roles and duties of staff personnel. For example, was it the duty of the counselors to give grades in courses, since they were most intimately involved with the interns? How much personal counseling should the instructors undertake, given the de jure role of counselors? What did these considerations mean when it came to looking at credentials for hiring? These problems were compounded both by the newness of the program, and OICs/A's consequent lack of experience in hiring educational personnel able to function in innovative contexts.

The result was a general air of confusion concerning who was to do what, an unclear notion of how decisions were to be made, a pervasive attitude of defensiveness, generally poor staff morale, and a high staff turnover rate. This situation was reflected in the data and in the recommendations of the first formative evaluation report.

Happily, many of the administrative problems were solved. Simply getting through the shake-down period--during which roles, duties and lines of communication were defined--led to solutions to some of the problems. The informal evaluation reports provided insights and ideas which the administrators used in making staffing decisions, and focused staff attention on underlying problems. As a result, an action plan was drawn up and implemented. The evaluators provided information to the CIP staff on the extent to which this corrective action plan was carried out.

Modeling

A second serious problem was that of developing a program without a suitable precedent to follow. This problem showed itself in a number of ways. There were no established criteria for hiring staff-especially instructors, counselors, and job developers. Attempts were made to obtain people with experience in related areas--such as adult career education, OICs/A manpower training programs, public school counseling, or other alternative schools; however, the demands of their previous jobs did not coincide with the requirements at CIP.

New roles had to evolve. The immediate result was confusion, lack of coordination, and tension as each individual attempted to defend his or her approach.

For example, a Director was hired with experience in a program where there were few external controls and little experimental evaluation. As a result, the Director felt frustrated over apparent infringements on decision-making responsbilities. A career counselor was hired from an adult career program and did not understand the necessity for establishing a relationship between untrained youth and career information. A teacher was hired who though well versed in the academic nature of a particular discipline, had little understanding of the life of the students.

The lack of a guide was also evident in the area of student assessment. CIP attempted to do away with the effects of the standard grading system. The Fused Academics approach used at the program tried to give equal weight to academic progress, improvement of self-image and other affective concerns as well as to the development of career strategies and the acquisition of usable career information. Yet there was no available common denominator for assessing these aspects of intern growth.

The lack of a tested model raised a number of other important questions. What kinds of curricula should be developed for a program like this? How does one make sure that the careers being taught are, in fact, viable for the interns? How can interns be convinced that the program is going to serve their interests and will not leave them short changed? What behaviors are appropriate for interns in this context? What can they get away with? What are the unspoken roles of the game?

While these problems are by no means completely solved, a number of mechanisms have been developed to deal with them, and these have generated some solutions. Attempts have been made to increase communication among the staff by instituting inter-departmental workshops and staff meetings focusing on specific issues. Classes taught jointly by counselors, instructors, and career experts are now being offered. Less reliance is being placed on external consultants and more on the use of internal staff, who have a better grasp of the unique problems of the program. Several changes have also been made in the curriculum. For instance, the two-week Development and Motivation section which was a "motivational" course included in the original program design has been spread over the entire first semester and is team-taught by instructors,

counselors, and job developers as a Career Counseling Seminar. The number of careers to which interns are exposed has been reduced to those that are applicable. The successes generated have instilled a new confidence within the staff and have led to program and role definition.

In addition to these problems several others of lesser scope had to be confronted. They are problems of built-in structural conflict between instructors and counselors in the school; of intern motivation which shows up most dramatically in absenteeism; and of intern recruitment and program image.

Instructors Versus Counselors

The first of these problems stemmed from an attempt to deal with the lack of individual attention interns experienced prior to entry in the CIP. To fill this need, a counseling program was designed with a staff size allowing for frequent contact between interns and counselors. Counseling was made co-equal with teaching, and counselors were given many of the functions normally assigned to teachers in traditional schools. They were charged with handling all personal problems of interns, as well as with ensuring their affective growth. Teachers, on the other hand, were to deal only with academic matters and with cognitive development.

While this concern to treat personal problems and affective development as paramount makes sense given the problems interns face, the solution posed serious problems of its own. First, given the lack of a model, definitions of responsibilities of counselors and instructors were a problem. If a student, for example, was doing poorly in math and the counselor was convinced the reason was not lack of ability but family problems, who should deal with the problem, and how? Interns were encouraged to seek out counselors for help with their problems. Since it is often impossible to sort out personal from academic problems, counselors found themselves giving advice in areas that instructors thought impinged on their own areas of expertise and interest. As a result, a feeling of resentment built up, expressing themselves in attitudes of competition that hindered the cooperation a program of this kind requires. Relatively simple questions, like "Who has the responsibility to dismiss students from class?" became major problems. Interns would go to counselors and explain that they had to attend to personal obligations; the counselors, being sympathetic, frequently granted permission to be away. Thus, instructors not only felt frustrated about the definitions of their roles, but also felt that they had lost control of the factors contributing most to the success of their teaching.

This conflict between counselors and instructors also created difficulties with assessment of interns. Since counselors based their assessment upon different criteria from that of teachers, there was often a discrepancy. Integrity or professional judgment was called into question, requiring a third-party decision. Fruthermore, since counselors were judging the quality of affective growth, they found the number or letter grades of teachers unusable; and finding a common denominator became a serious stumbling block.

As a result of these conflicts, a number of changes were made. A series of workshops was held, attended by both counselors and instructors, so that problems could be discussed. Formal lines of communication were established between the two departments. The curriculum was changed so that instructors' and counselors together could teach some of the courses. Intern Disposition Review Conferences, where teachers, counselors, and career advisors can sit down together and discuss specific students, were designed.

Absenteeism

Many interns appeared, in the past, to take a very casual attitude toward classes, with the result that absenteeism of over 50% was not unusual. This had a negative effect on intern progress, on lesson continuity, and on staff morale. The causes were difficult to isolate. One underlying cause, however, was the pattern of behavior developed in the public schools and carried over into the Career Intern Program. Another factor was the admission of students with poor motivation. Further, the CIP is often initially perceived by interns as a way to get through high school with as little bother as possible. In addition, poor attendance may also be the direct result of personal and home problems.

While the problem has not been entirely solved, several steps have been taken to alleviate it. The changes in counseling procedures, with counselors and instructors working together helped. Recruitment and intake procedures guide those who were not sufficiently motivated away from the program, and have made responsbilities clear to those who do enter the program. A series of micro-teaching workshops was instituted to upgrade the quality of instruction. The curricula have been completely revised to offer courses that are relevant, interesting, and individualized. The result has been a marked decrease in absentee rates.

Intern Recruitment and the Program Image

A final unforeseen problem became apparent in attempts to recruit interns. The problem had two faces, the first being the difficulty of getting enough qualified applicants, and the second, defining the goals of the program.

The difficulty in getting enough applicants stems from several sources. In the early history of the program (before January 1974) there were no limitations on either the number of interns or their qualifications. Virtually anyone who applied was accepted. When the experimental design was instituted, several new factors were introduced into the recruitment process. First, only students with a minimum fifth grade reading level were admitted. In addition, the design called for a specific number of admissions, plus a large pool of qualified applicants to constitute a control group. Thus, the sheer number of applicants had to be significantly larger than before. Furthermore, admission under the new design required a full day of interviewing and testing with no guarantee that an applicant would be chosen, even though qualified to enter the school. This had a discouraging effect on potential interns.

The major mechanism for recruitment was the contact of the School District Coordinator with counselors in the designated feeder schools. Since the public school counselors were never quite sure what the CIP was all about, they tended to send students without reference to an explicit set of criteria. When their records were reviewed by the School District Coordinator, many were judged to be unqualified for admission.

While the net result was that there were not enough qualified applicants, the implications were more far reaching. First, it was obvious that additional recruitment mechanisms would have to be developed. Second, it was apparent that public school administrators were confused as to the purpose and goals of the CIP.

The question came up in a staff meeting early in the summer in the form of a heated discussion as to whether CIP should project iteself as "an alternative school for anyone who was unhappy with the public schools;" should stress the "remedial nature of its orientation and thus appeal to those identified as poor students;" or whether "the emphasis on career training should be pushed,". In any case, the effect on recruitment and the possibilities for publicizing the program would be affected.

Several important steps have been taken toward resolving the difficulties associated with recruitment. In January 1974, in response to the immediate problem of getting enough applicants for the first class, several staff members were instructed to recruit students via telephone or door-to-door solicitation. This technique proved both time consuming and unwieldy, though it did increase the number of prospective students.

As a result of the recruitment problem, the School District Coordinator began a stepped-up campaign to advertise the program in feeder schools. He scheduled student body assemblies, combed student records, and intensified his contacts with school counselors. Furthermore, the number of feeder schools was greatly expanded to cover the entire city. Descriptive literature was sent to the principals and counselors of virtually every city high school.

As the Career Intern Program becomes more clearly defined and better organized, the staff believes it can accept an increasingly larger student body. This means that greater numbers of students must be identified. The problem appears to be solved. For one thing, people are hearing about the program by word of mouth, and the number of people who apply is increasing rapidly. For another, the intake procedures have been streamlined to reduce the total time for interviews and testing. Thus, they are less onerous to potential applicants.

In summary, the above were the major problems faced in the early stages of CIP development. Basic, of course, are the problems resulting from the innovative nature of the program. These include development of a viable administrative structure and a set of administrative procedures, plus the job of creating a program for which there were few antecedents. Beyond this, there were a number of problems of lesser scope which had to be dealt with--the unforeseen structural conflict between counseling and instruction, the high absentee rates, and the problem of intern recruitment.

THE PROGRAM AS IT DEVELOPED: SOME CHANGES

The net result of these processes has been the creation of a program which is in some respects different from the one orginally proposed, but which is representative of the basic idea of the Reverend Dr. Sullivan and the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America. The result is not a compromise or a dilution of the original dream. Indeed, in many respects it is more exciting and responsive to intern needs than had been imagined.

This section reviews the changes that have taken place since the program's design and inception. No effort is made to describe again the basic structure of the school, which has remained much as originally planned. What has changed are mainly roles, emphases, and program processes. These major changes are in administration, instruction/counseling, and program development and review.

Administration

Perhaps the most significant administrative change has been in the hiring of a Director with a background of experience in teaching, school administration, and innovative educational program development. In addition to the improved morale resulting from this appointment, the new Director has instituted a number of administrative procedures that have significantly altered the shape of the program. Department heads are now required to prepare and submit to the Director bi-weekly reports of their activities. Each report is sent on to OICs/A and is circulated among the other department heads so that all administrators are kept abreast of every major development in the program.

Efforts on the part of the administration have been made to increase the quality and effectiveness of communication among staff. Instead of weekly general staff meetings, frequent staff seminars are held which focus on specific issues, and regular, individualized intern assessment conferences are conducted, bringing together instructors, job developers, and counselors. Furthermore, in keeping with the effort to enhance staff communication, the results of the ongoing evaluation are made available to staff both as written reports, channeled through the Program Manager and UCEC Director, and as oral briefings to the entire staff by the evaluators. This immediate evaluation feedback permits quick response and implementation of suggestions on the part of the staff.

In addition to this administrative change, a number of others have been made which, while less basic to the operation of the program, have nonetheless made a noticeable difference in ambience. For example, the office of the head of Educational Services has been moved to the Resource Center, greatly increasing this individual's interaction with staff and interns, and the title of the position has been changed to Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist. As a full-fledged department, Educational Services has been eliminated, because the bulk of one of its major functions--the development of a basic curriculum for a new and innovative program--has largely been accomplished. This has been the one major structural change to take place (see Figure 2).

A comprehensive action plan has been formulated to ensure that the recommendations of the formative evaluation are carried out. Department heads have been granted a great deal of autonomy in doing their jobs within the framework of the general program policy. At the same time, they have been made accountable through the required bi-weekly reports.

In summary, the present administrative structure has been streamlined; qualified people have gradually emerged in key staff positions; procedures for effective communication have been and are being developed and implemented; a general administrative policy based upon respect for individual staff expertise has been articulated; and stress has been placed upon regular staff-staff and staff-intern interaction.

Instruction/Counseling

The above administrative changes have had important effects on the processes of instruction and counseling. One change has been that the tendency to separate teaching and counseling functions (which was never intended in the original design) has been reversed. The current emphasis is upon cooperation between instructors and counselors, which occurs in several ways. A Career Counseling Seminar is offered, taught by a team of counselors, teachers, and career advisors. In addition, regular Intern Formalized Assessment Conferences and periodic Intern Disposition Review Conferences are conducted and attended by all staff involved in an intern's program. Preliminary data relating to the effectiveness of such cooperation indicate that teachers and counselors have begun to see each other as equal partners in a joint enterprise.

New procedures have been developed to ensure successful Hands-On experiences. These procedures are designed to make sure interns' experiences are useful and relevant to their interests. In the new procedure, an intern's counselors keeps a careful record of the intern's progress in the program. Sometime during Phase I, after the Career Development Plan has been formulated, an Intern Disposition Conference is held, at which time the intern along with her/his counselor, instructors, and career advisor settle upon two career choices. When the intern completes the Career Counseling Seminar, his/her counselor sends a transmittal memo to the Career department indicating that the intern is ready for Hands-On and naming the two careers of interest to the intern. The Career department then arranges for the Hands-On experiences.

Curriculum

Attempts are being made to enhance the quality of instruction in two ways. First, new curriculum packets (to be described below) have been developed and are being used. These are

designed to permit individualized instruction that answers the needs of the particular intern, and to fuse academic and career information. Secondly, teacher workshops are conducted by the head of the Instructional Department, the outside curriculum consultant, and other outside specialists. These are designed to facilitate implementation of the new curriculum. A series of micro-teaching workshops has been held using videotaping as a means of getting teachers to evaluate their own classroom behaviors.

In addition to the changes in courses and counseling, the program today features a large number of non-classroom activities. A successful career fair was held at the end of the summer for which interns studied various careers, designed visual displays, and made themselves available to discuss the careers with other interested interns. Excursions to various cultural centers--museums, the zoo, theaters, and so on--have been conducted, and more are planned. These all represent efforts to enrich the educational experiences of interns.

In summary, new procedures have been introduced to enhance the quality of career advising and to integrate instruction and counseling. High quality instruction is a constant concern and is being ensured through the use of updated curriculum packets supplemented by reular teacher workshops.

Basic Subjects in the Curriculum

CIP is committed to a personalized program. This commitment led to the development of personalized curriculum materials based on the following assumptions:

1. A teacher able to interact on a personal level with each student is essential. Curriculum materials should facilitate such interaction, not take the place of it.

2. The ability to work independently and learn autonomously will vary significantly with each individual. The curricula will have to help the intern make the transition from dependent, teacher-directed learning to independent, autonomous learning.

3. Interns vary in their readiness for learning. The materials should provide a variety of learning activities.

4. The materials should help the intern recognize the need for the information which they contain; should specify learning objectives; and should provide frequent feedback about learning.

The packets were also designed to remedy two weaknesses in earlier versions of the curriculum: Information overload--students were burdened with too much career-related information; and too little emphasis on processing information--students were not helped to think analytically about careers and to develop a means for finding and using appropriate career information.

More About Curricula: The Counseling Seminar

The Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) assists students to understand career information, develop self-awareness, explore career possibilities, and cope more successfully with diverse social situations. Most interns are street wise. The seminar helps them become school wise and work wise. The seminar, meeting for one period daily for 22 weeks, is required of all students. The seminar also deliberately integrates the efforts of teachers and counselors who constitute the teaching team.

Curriculum materials consist of learning packets written on a fifth grade level. A list of all packets is given in the appendix. Illustrative topics include;

o Carrer Information Processing

1. Identifying present career interests
2. Expanding present interests into new horizons
3. Choosing a career study
4. Deciding on career information needed
5. Locating print resources
6. Interviewing career specialists
7. Using community agencies
8. Evaluating career resources
9. Recording career information
10. Writing the career report
11. Sharing career information

o Decision Making process

1. Rational decision making
2. The trouble with superstition
3. Brainstorming options and choices
4. Whom can you trust? The use of authority.
5. Predicting consequences
6. Learning from experience
7. Keeping the options open
8. When to follow your hunches?
9. When to listen to other people?
10. What kind of decider are you?

Academics and Career Education

These studies (English, Social Studies, Mathematics and Science) relate senior high school subjects (grades 10 through 12) and career education content. Ninety-seven packets in English, social studies, and science have been developed, plus 43 lessons in mathematics. Each packet contains four to eight lessons, a pre-and post-test covering packet content, a series of readings and activities, and a list of optional enrichment activities.

The units for the first level of English, each unit serving as a focus for a learning packet, illustrate the integration of career, academic and other content within a separte-subjects curriculum design.

o English II

Career:	The Job Interview Communication Problems and Job Success Career Focusing
Academic:	Speaking and Listening Writing Better Sentences Writing Better Paragraphs Hope - the Afro-American Soul in Literature Flight and Fear in Literature
Self:	You, Your Language, and Careers
Community:	Communication in the Community

The packets were developed by outside consultants working with the CIP staff. Packet content was designed to appeal to students who were not motivated (or experienced) in working on their own and who had some difficulty with academic content. A student who used only packet material could master at least the basic content, although going beyond the basics is encouraged. Teachers use the packets in a way which best fits their teaching style, and are encouraged to supplement the packet content with "...active, experiential learning" to avoid a workbook-drill approach in teaching.

Hands-On

Interns are recommended for Hands-On experiences which are designed to provide exposures to the primary labor market in their last semester at CIP. If interns' attendance is satisfactory, if interns are doing well in their courses, and if their teachers and counselors feel they are ready, the general counselor submits interns' names to the Job Developer. The Job Developers, who are advised of the interns'

first and second career choices, find appropriate placements. Each intern is required to have two Hand-On placements of one week each. Work in Hands-On is evaluated both by the supervisor at the business placement and by the CIP Job Developer.

Hands-on is an experience in CIP whose importance may seem surprising since almost all interns work by necessity or choice. Their jobs are, however, typically in the secondary labor market of low-paying, high-turnover youth jobs. Few interns have had access to the higher paying, primary labor market world of suburban firms, downtown businesses, and professional and skilled trades. For most students, Hands-On represents their first exposure to conditions and people in primary labor market work, selected with their interests and needs in mind. Typical Hands-On placements involved students observing/working* in the positions described in the composite portraits which are listed below:

- Lila, putting together her record as the fastest (and most accurate) figurer at CIP and her interest in data rather than people, spent a week as an actuarial clerk in a suburban insurance firm. Her performance was so remarkable, the firm offered her a traineeship in actuarial statistics.

- Rupert, whose street occupation had involved both relating to people and handling considerable sums, worked with a teller in a downtown bank. Initially ill-at-ease in the acres of marble, he gained both knowledge of the range of banking services available to him and how his money sense and reliability could fit into the work of bank employees.

- Gene had a little interest in a lot of careers but no great interest in any. His abilities were similarly dispersed rather than concentrated. A week with a computer technologist in a downtown Marine Corps Supply Center helped him understand the diversity of occupations available within an employer such as the Marine Corps-and helped also rule out computer technology as a possible career.

* Sometimes safety considerations or other rules preclude actual work by students.

- Merle spent his hands-on with a building contractor in the city, literally hands-on as a carpenter-for-a week. Added attractions were the opportunities to observe close-up the variety of other skilled crafts and trades working on the construction site.

- Earlyne's first hands-on choice, working with a nurse, did not come through. Reluctantly she agreed to spend a week with a parole officer in the city corrections department. It was a week that has influenced, and perhaps changed, her life. The officer who was her monitor was committed to making parole work, and showed Earlyne a fuller range of challenges, opportunities and rewards - as well as disappointments, some risk, and frustration than her second hands-on (which was nursing) could offer.

- Other hands-on placements have included social work in a local community action project, chef in a suburban motor lodge, dental assistant in a city clinic, nurse in a home for the elderly, and journalist with the city newspaper.

Doris' (an actual student) experiences illustrate a number of the effects Hands-on have on intern attitudes toward careers. On her CDP she had indicated that her first choice of career was in the area of computers and her second was to be an X-ray technician. Her Hands-on experience made her change her mind.

> "After I had, you know, gone on that Hands-On experience with the computer, I didn't like it too much...I just didn't like it because...you got to go to school. I don't want to go back to school a long time just to get into that...I'll probably go back to school in about a year, I want to go to a training school or something."

She really liked the X-ray technician experience, however. Her reasons for liking it probably reflect the kinds of considerations that ultimately go into a satisfying career.

> "...I just like the taking of X-rays of people and watching how they develop through the machine and stuff... the people I worked with were really nice. Lynne and Eric, that was their names. They showed me a lot when they weren't working and I was registering patients and stuff and then Eric showed me how to run the machine a little bit."

For Doris, as for many of the interns, Hands-on gave her a clearer idea of what a realistic career goal was for her, of how to go about attaining it and convinced that she could succeed if she worked at it.

In some cases, the Hands-on experiences have unexpected effects on the attitudes of interns. One intern, for example, wanted to become a dental assistant. When she got to the site and discovered how much schooling the career required and what the work was like, she realized that she would not want to do it. However, she discovered what the duties of a medical receptionist were while at her Hands-on. She decided this was something she could do, and came back determined to get more information various openings for receptionists.

Electives

Elective subjects broaden the curriculum, contributing to the "you-are-important" atmosphere CIP tries to maintain. Electives offered by CIP include cultural arts (clarifies the concept of culture and helps students explore their own and other cultures); basic typing for personal use; graphics (perspective, form and their communication through drawings, provide insight into a related career), consumer mathematics, and humanities (artistic expression in painting, music, films, and literature).

Program Development and Review

Even after four years of development, the Career Intern Program is not static. Procedures have been introduced to ensure that it remains flexible and responsive to the changing needs of interns and of the community it serves. Existing programs and practices are constantly under review.

The mechanism for effecting change and for monitoring the program includes the Office of the Operations Planning Assistant of the OICs/A who works with the Program Manager, reviews all program reports, and maintains continuous on-site contact with the program and with the external evaluators. Based on the information received, the Operations Planning Assistance makes recommendations to the UCEC Director.

A second important mechanism for review has been the external evaluation team. On-site fieldworkers monitor the ongoing program and regularly report their observations to the Program Manager. Thus, they are able to evaluate the effectiveness of change.

In Instructional Curriculum Supervisor is constantly searching out and reviewing new instructional materials and is actively producing in-house materials and methods.

Various instructors and counselors have been assigned the task of organizing and supervising extra-curricular group activities, which will add to interns' knowledge and give them a wider range of school experiences. For example, a Student Counseling Committee has been formed to provide a means for interns to discuss personal and school problems with other interns; a Progressive Student Association has been organized to give interns a voice in the program; and several activity groups meet regularly.

A new, streamlined procedure for intake interviews, using a slide show which can be shown to a number of parents and interns at the same time, has been developed and is being tried out.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges is that of an exciting and changing experiment in education. Some of the changes described above are a confession of failure. Some of the new programs and activities may prove ineffective and require further change. More importantly, however, the program has proven itself capable of meeting challenges and of dealing with its own imperfections. CIP appears well on the way to meeting its original goal: to prove "the hope of productive futures for urban youth."

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTERN AND CIP: FOUR CASE STUDIES

The interns whose experiences are described here under fictitious names are selected on two bases. First, they represent a sampling of various student feelings about the Career Intern Program; and second, they exhibit the range of social characteristics typical of entering interns. Included are two men and two women, high school dropouts and non-dropouts, one who has finished CIP, two who are midway through their programs, and one whose graduation is still sometime off. One of the interns is white, and three are black. They come from a variety of home contexts and a number of different high schools. They range from good students to very poor. Taken together, they provide an accurate composite of typical intern experiences.

No attempt is made to describe the entire life history of any one intern. Rather, using their words and assuming their perspective, this chapter tires to describe what they find significant and interesting about the program. Each intern reveals the special personal meaning the program holds for her or him.

Eddie: "I needed a diploma."

Eddie's story tells of the obstacles some public school students meet in trying to get a diploma. Eddie had a pretty good idea what he wanted to do with his life, but the problem was that he had been unable to obtain the pass-key in all his years in public school. Without the diploma, Eddie feared that he would have to take whatever he could get on the street and he had seen too many frightening endings out there to want to settle for that alternative. Here is Eddie's story.

When his family moved from West Philadelphia to Germantown, Eddie breathed a sigh of relief. He had been dodging gang members in the old neighborhood for two years and he was glad to leave the scene of the battle. In a new neighborhood and new school, Eddie found himself in a different scene, but fighting the same battle. There were new gangs to deal with and he was not doing much better at the new high school than he had at the old. He refused to enter the gang scene which he knew would lead to his dropping out of school. At the same time, he could not be a part of the successful student scene. In describing the social context of the high school, Eddie characterizes his own dilemma.

"If you're a hoodlum (gang member), you're cool. If you're not a hoodlum, you're 'iced' (snubbed). If you're a "bookworm,' they call you a dummy."

Eddie needed to find a place where he could be himself, and where he could get the understanding and help to finish high school.

CIP was less than a block away from his high school and Eddie wandered over there occasionally to check it out.

"If you walk into a regular school, everybody stares at you like you're...somebody from a different planet or something...over here (CIP) I found the school was together. They don't give you any hassles about what you're doing in here and how you got in here."

So the first thing about CIP that appealed to Eddie was the atmosphere of openness. Eddie was admitted to CIP in January, 1974. Before long he began to endear himself to teachers and counselors, taking an active role in student activities. He was handsome and a stylish dresser who loved to flirt with the girls or spend an afternoon rapping with a teacher. He became involved in the Progressive Student Association, a student initiated group set up as a voice for interns in the school and for planning student social activities. As a member of the group Eddie participated in planning dances and organizing basketball games between students and staff. During second semester at CIP, another intern wrote and directed a play in which Eddie had a major part.

Eddie related to adults especially well, forming close friendships with many of his teachers and other staff members. As a result of his easy relationship with CIP staff, they tended to entrust him with responsibilities, like relaying messages between staff members or helping teachers carry books from the resource center.

Soon just about everybody knew Eddie. His classmates respected him for his efforts in their behalf, and his teachers and counselors saw him as special. He had found the place he was looking for at CIP.

Because of his reading problems however, it took him much longer to get through the program than many of the interns who entered CIP when he did. He had been in high school for five years before coming to CIP and had made it only as far as the 11th grade. Like many students in the large high schools, Eddie's slow pace is probably attributable to his never having admitted or dealt with his reading deficiencies. At the same time, no

one was paying much attention to the fact that after so many years he had accumulated so few credits. Eventually he would either have dropped out or he would have been dropped from the rolls.

But in the supportive atmosphere at CIP, Eddie had a chance to admit his problems, to seek and to get the help he needed to improve. Eddie saw the CIP teachers were different. . .

> ". . .they take time to explain what's happening. They really take time to understand you, to see how you get along with other people in the classroom. The teachers here don't have the attitude they have at High School, you know, 'if he doesn't get his education, I don't care, it doesn't have anything to do with me, I'm still getting my money.' But teachers here don't feel like that, they feel that we all have to survive, so they can't turn their back on you when they know they can help you make that change."

This comment of Eddie's is typical of many interns' analysis of the difference in attitude of teachers. That difference fills a need that Eddie and other interns like him felt strongly.

Eddie not only feels that teachers at CIP care about him in a personal way, but also that school in general has become more personally meaningful to him. When he refers to his courses at CIP, for example, he doesn't only use course names but refers to them in terms of what he is learning about. Here he is talking about one of his favorite classes and the issues discussed that have impressed him deeply.

> ". . .the work seems like fun, not boring. You can't go to sleep in classes because we do things. Like in my Social Studies class, we're learning about ourselves, like our racial self and prejudice. Everybody gets a chance to act out what prejudice is. Some people say prejudice is like not liking string beans. But that's not prejudice and you learn what prejudice is really about."

In his last semester at CIP, Eddie was taking only one course because he had completed everything else he needed. He had had to repeat his English course once, but by this time, Eddie was reading adequately. One aspect of the school he complained about in his last semester was the packets teachers were using in the classrooms.

His dissatisfaction is mixed with an understanding of their intent and the value of doing them. Somehow, his mixed feelings represent the movement Eddie had made toward an understanding of the value of school and toward increased self-awareness.

". . .I couldn't stand the packets. . .they ask you the same questions through the whole packet. You finish one question and turn the page and you see the same question in a different form. . .maybe they do it to check you out, to see whether you're rushing through or whether you're taking your time to think about the answers. . .We do them individually because everybody says something different . . .I always wanted to catch the guy that made up those packets. I always wanted to catch him. . .We had one of them called 'How do you feel about yourself'. Well, quite naturally, you're going to exaggerate to make yourself look good. But then if you look at it, you say, 'Well, how do I feel about myself?' And if you really sit back and think of all the wrong things you've done, you'd have to put down something different from what you first wrote down. Or how do you feel at this particular moment? Nervous? So you really can't just put down anything off the top of your head. You have to really sit back, read it, and then think about what it asks you, and then write it down. It made you think. It was sickening. But, I guess to a certain extent they were alright."

Unlike many of his fellow interns, Eddie knew what he wanted to be for a long time. He looked into other careers when he was at CIP and had six hands-on experiences during his stay, but his first love was electronics.

"When I was about eight years old, my father brought me a radio--I took that radio apart and he told me. . .he beat me first, and then he told me, 'That radio better be working!'. I got the crystals back in that radio and that radio was working. That's what got me into it. Then I started dealing with a little bit of everything. It's fascinating. You take a radio that's a good twelve, thirteen years old and you say, "Wow, I'm going to fix this radio.' You sit down and get to pulling those tubes out and testing them and seeing which ones are no good and you put new tubes in and you might take the cord off cause the cord had a break in it. You know, you can get a short circuit because of that. You take the cord off and you put another one in there, slap it in the wall and the radio come on. Wow, you see what happened. That's a trip".

Recalling his favorite hands-on experience, Eddie tells about working with an electrician for two weeks as he went from job to job in the city.

"I thought I knew a lot about being an electrician. I thought electrician and electronics were just about the same thing. Until I went on that hands-on. First of all, I didn't really think about all the things electricians do and how they work. I thought to myself, 'I'm really more interested in building things, electrical things,' So I talked to that electrician and he showed me some other stuff he was working on, on his own time. It made me think about that career in a different way, but I knew I still wanted to work with electronics."

Eddie never entertained any ideas about going to school beyond high school. His major goal was to get a high school diploma. A diploma, to him, symbolized a clean break from the street scene that constantly lured him but that he so diligently tried to avoid.

"I really wanted to get a high school diploma. I know what it's like out there and I want to get a better job than just what I could pick up on the street. I really go to find out what I would have missed if I had dropped out. What opportunities I would have had. And that's why I'm glad I came over here. The people I see down town, I feel sorry for them. You see them sitting on the corner or sleeping in the street and you say, 'Damn, will you look at that!' I feel sorry for them. But really, if you sit back and think about it, you know, they can get it, they can do it. Maybe it's because they feel sorry for themselves, like if other people don't try for them, they're not going to try themselves. I'm not going to end up like that."

With the help of his counselor, Eddie looked into opportunities for getting into electronics. He finally decided he was going to go into the Air Force, and applied even before he graduated.

At the CIP graduation ceremoney in August, Eddie received an award for perfect attendance. The contrast of this award with his past school behavior is striking. Had Eddie not found a place where he could be himself, which gave him the support and patience to work on his reading skills, he probably would never have graduated from high school.

Darla: "I had to get myself together."

Darla sheepishly walked into the classroom building at 9:45 one morning, a half hour late for the Career Counseling Seminar.

Instead of going upstairs to class, she went to her counselor's office to explain why she was late and to get the necessary paper work done so she would be considered present in school that day.

> "You know, it takes me so long to get here all the way from South Philly, and, anyway, I wasn't feeling too good this morning."

Appearing disappointed, her counselor looked hard at Darla, as if waiting for Darla to add something.

> "I know. It's my own fault, really. I just could have started out earlier and I wouldn't have been so late. But do I have to go to the Career Seminar today?"

Darla dropped out of high school early in her second time around in 12th grade. After a few months of doing nothing, she decided to phone the local OIC for information on clerical skills training programs. Since she had been out of high school for only a short time, the OIC representative advised her to apply to CIP. She started attending classes at CIP in February of 1975, ready to wipe the slate clean and start afresh.

She'd had a couple of new starts before, but each time failed to live up to expectations. She had been an exceptional student in junior high school. When she started high school she was offered admission to a special program for the top students. Darla was interested in secretarial work, so she was put into the 'Co-op' program, an accelerated commercial course which simulated the work environment. She did fairly well her first two years in the program, but during her senior year, she began to have problems. When she first came to CIP she blamed her failure at the old high school on family problems, on teachers' lack of understanding or on some of her classmates' attitudes.

> ". . .I guess when my mother and father broke up, it tore me up. I took it hard. . .Anyway, I didn't like being in a classroom full of girls, and I wouldn't dress the way my teachers told me to dress, I didn't see any point in getting dressed up when I'm looking at a bunch of women all the time. I had top English, but that English teacher and me couldn't hit it off for nothing, cause all she would do was talk about literature-not English. Then there was this one girl who used to try to out do me in everything. She thought she was 'Miss Cutie', but she wasn't."

Darla failed every subject in her senior year. She returned the following year, and the teachers and her counselor at the old high school were willing to give her a second chance in

the Co-op program. But Darla began cutting classes again, eventually ran out of excuses and dropped out. Darla saw CIP as a chance to begin in a new environment, with new people, and with renewed determination.

When she first came to CIP, Darla was bubbling over with enthusiasm. Believing that she had failed at the other high school because of problems with her family, teachers and classmates, she was convinced that things would be different at CIP. Because she was already in 12th grade, she could graduate in only one semester and she was gung ho to beat her younger sister to a diploma. There were several reasons for her "high" at the beginning of her CIP experience. For one thing, she liked her teachers and felt the subject matter was relevant to her. Darla noticed that she was gaining interest in school again. She was gaining the self-confidence to express herself in class. When she thought about it, the biggest difference between the teaching at the old high school and the teaching at CIP had to do with attitude.

> "Here they come at you on an adult basis. You don't just have to take the teacher's word, they want you to judge for yourselves."

Darla stressed how important being treated like an adult was to her. It was not only her teachers, but her classmates who interacted with her as an adult. Darla tells about an incident which she feels exemplifies interns' interactions with each other.

> ". . .there are some childish ones over here, but there's one thing I notice, if you do something wrong--everybody is on your back. . .This one girl, loud-talked me one day out in the street. I told the rest of the students and they got on her back and said, 'Hey, why did you do that? That's not right, you are suppose to be an adult so start carrying yourself like one.' There was no argument, it was just. . .she just took it because nobody was trying to make her look bad or anything, they were just putting her in her place. That's what I like about this school."

Another reason for Darla's enthusiasm at the beginning was an arrangement her counselor made for her to work as a secretary each afternoon in the Career Department. This arrangement furthered her clerical skills training and also served as her hands-on experience. Getting the job also underlined Darla's feeling that she was being given a chance to act like an adult. Here she reveals her excitement at being hired.

"I came over there and interviewed and I filled out these papers. He told me I had the job...boy, was I tickled pink! Boy, I told my mother. She was glad too, cause like she was having hard times, and like at the time, I was spending .90¢ for carfare and a dollar for lunch, sometimes more. It was hard on my mother, because she had my sister in her last year (of high school), plus she has my little brother, plus she has the house and everything to pay for. She said I didn't have to give her anything just as long as I put twenty dollars in the bank; she didn't want anything from me, just as long as I had some money in the bank... They pay me a hundred dollars every two weeks."

In the Career Counseling Seminar, Darla decided to do her career report on becoming an executive secretary. She learned about the speciality while reading some general reference materials in the resource center. The glamour of the executive secretary's job caught Darl's imagination. She had once entertained thoughts of going into fashion design, but felt it was too impractical a career to pursue. Becoming an executive secretary represented a good compromise between glamour and practicality.

As the semester wore on, Darla's high wore off. She began to have problems in school and with her job. She was arriving late and cutting several of her classes.

Her attendance at the Career Counseling Seminar suffered because it was first thing in the morning. The more she missed it, the less she wanted to go. Soon she found herself cutting other classes and a pattern was emerging. Darla would begin to feel down on herself, but she would rationalize her behavior by blaming outside forces--illness, the distance she had to travel or home problems. Eventually, her job suffered too. She blamed her boss. Either he didn't understand her, or he expected too much of her. She began to make excuses to leave early in the afternoon, and sometimes she wouldn't show up at all.

"Like when he give me something, I freeze-up all the time, and then just mess up half the time. I didn't even care if I got to work. And I'd come in late. Half the time, I couldn't come in cause I was either sick or I had to go somewhere--to clinic or I might have to go somewhere else."

At mid-term, the results were in and things did not look good. Darla was failing every one of her courses simply because she was missing class too often. Her English teacher's comment typifies the frustration her teachers felt.

"Darla is a girl with a sweet smile, beautiful interpersonal skills, and she's flunking. Her attendance is sporadic...50 or 60%. When she comes, she does pretty good work. If she came she'd pass. I mean, her scores were all like 70's and just a few 70's doesn't get you passed."

Darla's counselor talked to her every day, urging her to come to school, and talking with her about personal problems Darla perceived herself to be having. Her teachers explained to Darla exactly what she would have to do in order to pass their courses. Her enthusiasm welled up again and by the end of the semester, Darla had passed all of her courses except the Career Counseling Seminar. This meant she could not graduate.

A noticeable shift occurred in the way she viewed her own behavior that semester, however. Where before she blamed everyone and everything for her problems in school, she was now beginning to see that it was she who had primary responsibility for her school success. She recognized her behavior pattern of messing up, feeling bad, and running away or avoiding the issues.

"I started getting--I got real lazy, and I started fooling around. And that's how I flunked, because I fooled around and everything. I would miss class a lot. You used to see me in the recreation room all the time, cutting classes...This is the same thing that happened at the other school. I was in the same bag I was in before."

The opening scene in the counselor's office took place in Darla's second semester at CIP. She was taking the Career Counseling Seminar which she had failed the semester before. On that day, Darla was late. She started off blaming her lateness on outside forces. Her counselor waited to hear if Darla would be satisfied with her rationalizations. But Darla had begun to recognize the pattern in her behavior, and, to her counselor's satisfaction, added that it was her own fault for being late. From this perspective, her failure to graduate could not be blamed on the teachers, the weather or her friends. At CIP, her teachers', counselor's, and classmates' support were ideal. She realized that all along there was a crucial element she had been missing in trying to explain her past failures--herself.

"I had been feeling down, but now I'm starting--I'm anxious to go to school now. I'm going to start getting stuff together...I have to, you know, I'll be 20 years old. I'm going on 20...it's nobody's fault but my own that I didn't graduate. My sister teases me, I always used to tease her that I'll be getting out of school this year and she'll still be in there. Now she teases me. But I know now that I'm never going to graduate unless I get myself together."

For Darla, the CIP experience was more than choosing and working toward a career goal - - more than getting high school diploma. For her it was a chance to learn an important lesson about herself. By seeing her own behavior against an ideal school setting, she realized it was she who was preventing herself from accomplishing her goals. Getting through high school was one thing, but, unchecked, the pattern Darla exhibited would have affected her in any working situation she might enter. Interestingly enough, the feature of CIP that Darla liked so much--being treated as an adult-was the very thing that she found she could not live up to. At CIP, she learned something fundamental about herself and her own problems in dealing with the responsibilities of the adult she so much wanted to become. It provided a chance for her to test herself before going out into the work of work.

A postscript to Darla's story is encouraging. She was accepted to a secretarial training school. After graduating from CIP, she began attending classes there in January 1976. So far, she has been doing well and is looking forward to succeeding in a job.

Sherry: "I don't think I could do it."

"I figured that if I got a diploma I would get a different job. I didn't know what I wanted to do, but definitely change jobs. I wanted to come back to school because of my kids too. So I could help them when they begin to get hard work in school. I didn't want to be embarrassed in front of my kids and not be able to help them."

Sherry had been out of school for six years before coming to CIP. She dropped out after tenth grade because she was pregnant and never went back. In the meantime, she had two more children. Sherry applied to CIP because she wanted to get a diploma and a better job. She did not consider going to college or any other kind of post-high school program because she did not think that she had either the ability or the time, given the burden of three young children.

Sherry is a young-looking 23 year old, who, despite her age, blended in with the other interns at CIP. The only really distinctive quality Sherry displayed was a maturity marked by her dependability and perserverence. From the beginning her teachers noted that Sherry was one of their most diligent, conscientious students. Less than six months after she started attending CIP, Sherry was seriously considering going to college to become a social worker. What happened to her at CIP to change her aspirations is the subject of this study.

For one thing, Sherry found herself to be an extremely bright woman who enjoyed learning and excelled in school. Only a few weeks after classes started, Sherry's math teacher made this comment. . .

> "she is a very good student. The best I have. She's a straight 'A' student. A beautiful girl. Does all her homework on time, is very bright, very quick to grasp things. There is nothing wrong, nothing I can say against her, no minuses--all plus. Attendance? Every day! She is a gem of a student."

Sherry impressed her teachers with her ability and her motivation. Her English teacher commented that Sherry was an aggressive student in the sense that she was trying to learn as much as she could.

> "Even when assignments she has been given have been done she invariably comes to me to ask for more work. And of course her concern does not seem to be that of just trying to be impressive, I think she seems to be genuinely concerned about work..."

When her mid-term grades came out, Sherry had earned all 'A's. It was the first time in her life that she had done well in school. Her 10th year grades had been well below average. It had been several years, however, since she had tried her hand in a school situation. In musing about the reasons for her academic success at CIP, Sherry's renewed self-confidence reveals itself.

> "I knew I could do it all the time, but, you know, I just really had my mind more at ease now. I feel it's something I really want to do. My teachers tell me that I should study harder and that I should think about going to college because they say I'm really doing pretty well. Just about everybody has told me that."

As Sherry realized her capabilities as a student she began to entertain career possibilities she had never considered. She gained information about careers through the Career Counseling

Seminar and her hands-on experiences. At intake Sherry indicated that she wanted to become a secretary. She stayed with this goal at first, signing up for the typing course at CIP. In the Career Seminar, while working on her career report, she began to look into various specialties in the secretarial field and became interested in courtroom stenography. She learned that courtroom stenography required post-high school training. Her new self-confidence led her to believe that she could do it and that the payoff was probably worth the effort involved.

In the seminar, she was encouraged to analyze her personal reason for choosing courtroom stenography which was being in the courtroom.

> "I always wanted to be in the courtroom somehow. I guess the thing that appealed to me about being a courtroom stenographer was that you could be helping in an important way. I always wanted to work with people to help in any way I can, so I think that courtroom reporting is more than just being someone's secretary and it gets you involved with people."

Sherry continued to impress her teachers and her counselor with her excellent academic performance and her mature attitude. Her teachers began encouraging her to think about college and other possible careers. Sherry had vaguely considered becoming a parole officer or social worker. She knew very little about social work, but decided to request hands-on experiences in this field.

In her second semester, Sherry was assigned to work with a city probation worker who specialized in working with alcoholics. Sherry's eyes opened for the first time about what the career entailed and how different it was from being a courtroom reporter.

> "I never realized how complicated being a parole officer was...I think I also realized for the first time what a courtroom reporter does. I'd rather become a probation officer because they really work more closely with people and they can really make a difference."

As Sherry made that decision, she realized that she was committing herself to going to college after she graduated. Her view of her family responsibilities had been a source of conflict. Even though her husband had encouraged her to go back to school, and was helping her in every way he could while she was attending CIP, she had never seen herself in the role of a professional woman. The changes she was going through with respect to school

and career aspirations, however, contributed to her being able to see things in a new way. She knew she had the ability to succeed and she had a goal that motivated her to find a way.

> "What really helped me decide that I wanted to go to college it--well, I first thought I shouldn't go because all my children weren't in school. I wanted to get them first in there, I then thought I could do what I wanted to do. I figured that by then all I would have to do is get somebody to pick them up or either I could pick them up. But one of my teachers told me, 'Look, Sherry, you can go to college and plus you can get your home situation taken care of. Because my wife went to college, and I watched the two kids while she went. I know it's hard, but you can do it.' And I'm not the only one I see that is still thinking about college or going somewhere, and they're doing it--older than I am. They have children and they're trying."

Jack: "I go to be me..."or "I try to deal with life in a realistic way."

Jack could outtalk anybody at CIP. A wiry, energetic young man, Jack love to expound on social or philosophical topics to anyone who would listen--and his intensity was so engaging, he was rarely without an audience. Jack like the feeling of being different, of taking unusual stands on issues and he always commanded attention with his verbal agility. He liked the attention he got, using it to his advantage wherever possible. Thus, if he hadn't read the assignment, he could always make a good show by picking up the gist of the reading in class discussion and talking around it. In his history class one day, Mr. ____ was asking the class to explain what capitalism was. Here's one of Jack's speeches.

> "...See, government and politics, this is why I say that this is a very capitalistic country. The United States capitalizes on every situation. Now, for example, the Arabs. At the height of this oil embargo and stuff, this is where some people made $21 million from it. See how they capitalize on that? See how SEPTA (Philadelphia's transporation authority) capitalized on buses. SEPTA drivers make five something an hour, and it doesn't require education to ride a bus, you can be almost illiterate to ride a bus. But yet they are hurting the people in their community that are going to school..."

At intake, Jack indicated that he expected to become a skilled laborer of some sort, although when asked what he would be if he could do anything he wanted, he indicated that he wanted to get a law school degree and go into public relations. When he actually started classes at CIP, Jack told everyone that he wanted to be a journalist. Knowing that his obvious talent was expressing himself, and enjoying it as he did, Jack saw journalism as a logical choice. Being identified with that career also fulfilled Jack's need to be considered exceptional, creative and just a little different from the crowd.

> "...a lot of people just like to hear me talk. They say I have a gift of gab. And I can't help it..When I'm not in class, they miss me, that's what they say. They tell me they miss me in the classroom because, you know, when I wasn't there they wouldn't have any exorbitant discussions, probably if I was there it would have happened. I'm the type of person who just wants to be respected, that's all. That's why I want to go into journalism. I'd like to be a television anchorman. Just get up and tell people about the news and, you know, tell people about what happens in the world, because I've always been able to make a way with words. I try to speak very well, I write very well, I communicate very well."

Jack's outer confidence and his way with words belied his own inner self-doubts as revealed by the order of his career choices at the intake interview. On his career development filled out a few weeks after he started attending classes at CIP, Jack indicated that his second career choice was to become a welder, a substantially different goal than journalism. Although he initially indicated a desire to become a skilled laborer, later he decided to adopt the pose of planning for a more glamorous but elusive career. At CIP, however, people believed his front of self-confidence. No one challenged him directly about his chances to succeed in journalism. He was allowed to feel it out, to experiment with his goals and dreams, and possibly to develop within himself the belief that he could make them a reality.

To a large extent, Jack was a lot like his father. A supervisor in the water department, Jack's father was a good provider. At a conference with Jack's teachers after midterm grades came out, Jack's father enraptured the teachers by a humorous but insightful speech about Jack, schooling and life in general. One could see that Jack admired his father, one person who could certainly not be snowed by Jack's speechmaking. Jack's father was concerned about his math grade. Jack's ability counted, Jack shone, but in math, where Jack's talents afforded him no advantage, he was failing. Jack's math teacher commented:

"...I know he has the ability to do math. If he would just stop talking about it, and sit still long enough to concentrate he could be my best student."

Before Jack came to CIP, he had fared poorly in school. His problem then too was not being able to sit still. He cut classes most of the time, easily giving in to friends who influenced him to go drinking or carousing.

"I used to walk to school and run into a couple of my buddies, friends over there, and they would influence me to do something that wasn't constructive that was destructive. They were just drinking wine every-day. They're just going to get cirrhosis of the liver and kill themselves."

As a result of absences and lateness, Jack failed 11th grade. Feeling that he had to escape the influence of his friends he applied to CIP. At CIP, his classmates exerted a positive influence on him.

"...Most of the students here come in with a positive attitude--they want to learn something. This is what their purpose is here, to learn something, to go on to higher goals, higher education. Maybe they want to go to college, some just want to get jobs."

Jack attended regularly at CIP and he was beginning to enjoy school. He was receiving the attention and encouragement that he craved. In terms of his career goals, Jack was concerned with discovering what was realistic to expect of himself. He couldn't decide whether he was really capable of going to college and pursuing a career in journalism or whether he should try a less ambitious career, one that required less education and risk. He was particularly susceptible to the positive value placed on going to college by CIP teachers and counselors. His concern with realism and his own ambition is expressed in the following comment Jack made about the Career Counseling Seminar.

"It has made me deal with life, look at things in a more realistic way. When I came here, I found that the teachers try to push you forward. They stress the importance of education, of getting this knowledge, that it's of vital importance. If you don't, you're looked down upon when you fill out a job application or something. No diploma, you're not going to get that job. I think what this school represents is reality. Most of the people who come here have failed somewhere else, right? When we come here, the teachers, the counselors, everyone tries to motivate us."

In his second semester at CIP, Jack went on his first hands-on. Because of the availability of placements, Jack's placement for his first hands-on was in his second choice, as a welder. He was extremely enthusiastic about the experience and began rationalizing the possibility that he would reject his dreams in favor of a career as a welder.

> "...I feel like this, if a man can use his hands along with his head, then he's got something. But if a man uses his head too much and can't use his hands, then he's lost. There are a lot of people with doctor's degrees who can't even get a job out there, but if you have a skill like welding you can always get a job."

Also as a result of his hands-on, Jack realized how important math was to a welder, who has to be concerned with angles and measurements. He redoubled his efforts to do well in math, and signed up for a drafting course offered as a math elective.

Jack's second hands-on was scheduled to be a local newspaper. In the meantime, he had come to weigh his ambitions on the scale of realism. He had learned that journalism was a difficult field to break into, requiring discipline and patience to develop one's talents and to gain recognition for them. He was also becoming more comfortable thinking of himself as having a career as a welder, like his brother. He has not made up his mind yet, but he has had the opportunity to try two very different careers on for size. It is likely that whatever his decision, his experience at CIP will have had a part in this feeling satisfied with his choice.

More to consider. The cases described here depict the experiences of interns who stayed with the program, and their success is at least in part as a result of CIP being able to meet their personal, academic or career needs. For others, CIP did not work. For those, extreme personal problems, expectations which were not met, and numerous other and complex reasons led to their decisions to drop out.

- Stella is one example. She was doing well at CIP in her first few months until suddenly she found herself in the position of having to be the breadwinner for a family of five younger brotherss and sisters. Shy and private, she rejected her counselor's attempts to talk with her, and she began to miss school. She fell behind and finally decided to drop out that semester.

She returned the following fall, but her counselor had left CIP and she could not open up to the new one. Her problems mounted again, and with no one at CIP who could reach her, she dropped out -- this time for good.

- Tim another former intern, complained that he didn't feel he was learning anything in his classes at CIP. He preferred a more traditional approach to school and insisted that he would have liked to be able to return to his old high school. His teachers at CIP either could not remember having seen him in class at all, or commented that the few times he did attend, he was extremely quiet and reluctant to participate. He stopped coming to school only a few weeks after the semester began, and eventually decided he would not continue at CIP. After he left, he got a job in a restaurant, and talked about trying to get a high school diploma elsehwere. Eight months later, he was out of a job and no closer to a diploma.

- Lynn possessed one of the highest I.Q.'s of any entering intern. At first, she seemed to fulfill her promise and became known as one of the best students in the program; but she was shaken and disillusioned when in the second month of her tenure her favorite teachers was transferred. As the first semester continued, she became increasingly discouraged, spending less and less time in class.

  Frustrated by what she saw as an ever-changing program and disappointed with her career curriculum--since she had come primarily to get a diploma as quickly as possible--she began to feel betrayed. Finally, toward the end of the summer, when it became apparent that her graduation would be delayed for at least another semester, she left in disgust to go to Virginia and live with a sister while continuing in another school.

- There is also Roland, who came to the school before the present experimental program was instituted. He had dropped out because gang involvement in high school led to serious trouble with the authorities. After half a semester in the Career Intern Program, he dropped out and went to work as a short-order cook because of family pressures. Later on, he realized this was not the life he wanted, so he quit his job and went back to school. He is presently working to prepare himself for a career in fashion design.

These interns had less contact with teachers and/or counselors than the interns described earlier. Once they had fallen behind, they tended to give up, reluctant to face teachers and counselors. On the other hand, there are examples of interns for whom the above statements are also true but who did succeed. One intern who dropped out in this first semester, returned and graduated the following semester.

In addition, there are a number of outstanding, success stories. For instance, there is the story of Mitchell, who attended CIP when it was just getting started. In conversations, he tells how the class used to gather in front of a church each morning until they found out where the school would be conducted that day, usually in one of the local churches. He, too, had been a dropout from high school and is now working as a disc jockey at a local radio station while pursuing a university degree in communications.

Conclusion

The brief life histories presented above characterize intern experiences at CIP. The uniqueness of this program is found in its apparent ability to speak to the varied needs of so many different kinds of individuals, though perhaps not always successfully.

The emerging picture is not one of a group of cowed students who see nothing wrong with the school. They see it as exhibiting its share of injustices, unfairness, and needless political hassles. They are as frustrated, as scared, and as resentful of what they consider to be bad teaching as students in any school. However, again and again they reveal themselves as feeling personally responsible for seeing to it that changes are made. They are almost unanimous in their belief that while imperfect, CIP is better than anything they have experienced before.

The four cases presented in this chapter demonstrate the various ways in which CIP meets the needs of individuals and brings about change in their lives. For some, CIP is the only practical way to a high school diploma. For others, the CIP experience helps them to come to grips with personal realities, teaching them that the responsibility for personal growth and school or career success is their own. CIP serves others by widening their awareness of careers and helps them to make their own best choices. Each successful intern changes in one or more of these ways through their CIP experience.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT ARE INTERNS LIKE WHEN THEY ENTER THE CIP?

Jan is 18; if she were in the grade expected for her age, she would be a senior in Germantown High School. But Jan is not a senior.[1] A bright, eager student from the first eight years of school, she dropped out of high school when she was 16, after a long history of poor attendance, "being fresh," and getting into one minor scrape after another. She reads at the eighth grade level; her math ability tested much lower, however--at the sixth grade level. This means Jan can read most newspapers easily but could not quickly and accurately make change, or apply arithmetic to problem solving. As far as people can tell from the way Jan describes herself, she is independent, self-confident in personal relationships, but unsure of her ability to learn enough to earn her own living. Since she wants to leave home, get her own apartment, and be independent, finishing high school and getting a good job are high on her list--she wants to care for herself and for her one-year old daughter.

Carl is 16. Tall, dressed in the latest fashion, and well-coordinated, he looks as if he were 21. Carl is a sophomore--just barely. According to his school records and his achievement tests, Carl is bright, competent, and able to do almost anything he would like. But he is unclear about future plans. He "doesn't like school," and rarely attends. He has no fixed interests and, apparently, little sense of direction. Despite his physical appearance, he feels uncomfortable with adults, unsure of himself around the young men and women older than he, but bored with what kids of 16 can offer. Carl has worked off and on at various jobs since he was about 12--a few weeks here and there, but never leaving behind much of a welcome if he wants to return. He is not sure what he wants from the Career Intern Program, except that it sounds different from Germantown High and he'd like to try it. His parents, both white collar workers and increasingly concerned that Carl may "go wrong," are even more eager.

Jesse, at 18, is in his senior year, but 1 credit short of the 12 required for graduation. It does not look as if he is going to make it. Jesse has been passed on from year to year, apparently because he seems to be trying and makes no trouble. His reading scores are barely at the fifth grade level, at the threshold of literacy, and his math performance is not much better. These are the upper limits of Jesse's skills in most circumstances: he can

[1] Jan, Carl and Jesse are composites from CIP data and case studies.

barely comprehend a newspaper article, and his writing skills are, at best, elementary. Jesse's guardians have less than an eighth grade education and are employed as service workers. Despite their concern for Jesse, they have had little time to visit his school, to work with him at night, or to be his advocates for better educational support. Jesse sees himself as at the mercy of whatever luck--good or bad--comes along; he does not believe that what he does will make much difference in his life. He is an applicant for CIP mainly because of his school counselor, afraid Jesse will not be able to graduate and seeing little future for him even if he does, he has urged Jesse to try the Career Intern Program. His guardians are at best neutral. They are unsure of what CIP can offer and, since Jesse has not gotten into trouble, wonder if it will be too permissive for a youth accustomed to the fairly structured situation at Germantown.

Each of the 502 students who have applied and the 310 interns admitted to CIP is, like Jan, Carl, and Jesse, an individual with distinctive hopes, abilities, and problems. Some look as if they would probably do well in almost any situation. Some would present challenges to the most successful of schools. What they have in common is a history of failure in school.

This chapter presents a profile of the students who applied to CIP. It is important to keep in mind the complex individuals represented in the findings. In later reports, data will be analyzed to describe in more detail how subgroups of individual students may be alike.

WHO ARE THEY? AGE, STATUS, AND SEX OF APPLICANTS

The applicants range in age from 14 years (1 out of 502 students who applied to CIP between January 1, 1974, and December 1975) to 24 years of age (4 applicants). Over half of all applicants (250) are 17 or younger. For the most part, they're at an age where they'd be thought of as high school students.

Of the 502 applicants, 40% had dropped out of the public school system. Twenty percent more were still enrolled in high school when they applied for the Career Intern Program, but had such poor attendance records, they had in effect dropped out. Thus, approximately 301 of the applicants (60%) either were not participating in some kind of formal education or were participating only minimally.

As Figure 1 shows, age and status are related: most of the applicants 17 or younger were still enrolled in high school, while all of those 18 and older had dropped out.

If applicants had made normal progress, of the 502, 78 or 16% would have been in the tenth grade; 275, or 55%, would have been in the eleventh grade; and 149 or 30%, would have been in the twelfth grade.

The dropouts were not, by and large, attending some alternative school. One hundred seventy were working or actively looking for a job, and 34 were just "staying at home." Of the 34 applicants at home, 25 were women, and 8 of these had children. Only 17 were either participating in or waiting for admission into other programs.

Overall, slightly more of the applicants were men. Of the 305 applicants still in school, 154 were men; and of the 197 not enrolled in a high school 100 were males. Thus, men were slightly more likely to apply to the program than women. However, this difference is not reliable.

HOW WERE THE APPLICANTS DOING IN SCHOOL?

Many alternative schools are believed to attract applicants who would probably be successful almost anywhere. Were the CIP applicants, dropouts or not, having trouble at school? And if so, why?

There are several ways of answering this question: grade-point averages, how many credits the students were lacking for graduation, performance on measures of academic achievement, and statements of parents, counselors, and students themselves. Taking these all together, the answer seems to be that almost all the applicants were in serious academic difficulty because they lacked the ability to learn.

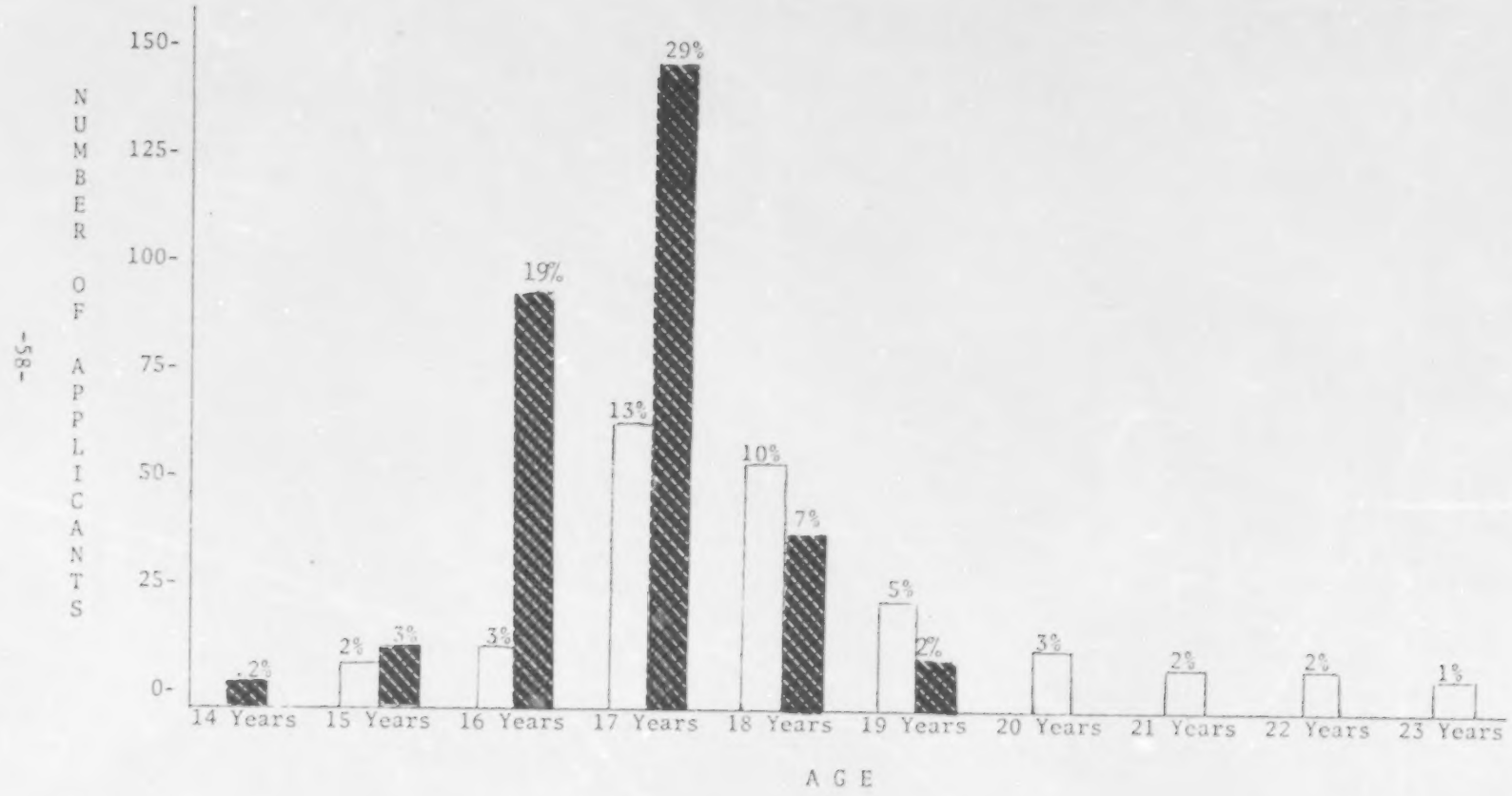
Grade Point Averages

In the Philadelphia schools, a grade of D or less is failing; a grade of C or more is passing; and grades of B or A are considered academically superior. Most (65%) of the CIP applicants (326 out of 502) either were failing during the semester before they dropped out or were failing before they applied. Some (25%) were passing, but with C averages. A few (10%) had academic averages suggesting superior performance.

FIGURE 1

AGES OF DROPOUTS AND NON-DROPOUTS APPLYING TO CIP

N = 502



Credit Deficits

A student needs 12 Carnegie units to graduate from high school in Philadelphia. At an average rate of four units per year, this means a junior should have completed four units, and a senior eight units at the beginning of eleventh and twelfth grades, respectively. The credit deficit is the difference between what the student is normally expected to have and the credits actually completed. The larger deficit, the further behind the student would be for her/his age and grade level.

Virtually all CIP applicants have credit deficits. On the average, applicants to the Career Intern Program are deficient by four units, or one year, though some are as much as seven units behind. Few of the applicants seem likely to graduate with their class. The situation for the dropouts showed distributions almost as discouraging, although the group was older and might have been expected to have completed more credits.

Performance on Achievement Tests

Achievement tests yield scores that describe the grade-level attainment of a student relative to what other students at that grade level can do. If, for example, almost all students at the beginning of the tenth grade can correctly solve the problem, "What should be Dick's change? He gave the clerk $5.00 to pay for a ball that costs $1.50 and a flashlight that costs 97¢," and a given student correctly answers that question as well as others like it but fails questions most other students in tenth grade fail, the student would probably receive a grade-equivalent score of 10.0.

Table I shows the distribution of grade-equivalent scores in reading for the 498 applicants taking the test,[1] while Table II indicates the distribution in mathematics achievement for the 500 applicants taking that test.[2] (The reader is referred to Volume II for the raw score distributions of the reading and mathematics tests.)

---

[1]With regard to the 5.0 grade equivalent score in reading mentioned earlier as a base requirement for admission, in practice, a 4.5 grade equivalent score was used as a cut-off point, since this figure is still within one standard error of measurement for this instrument. Thus, 1.4% rather than 8.5% of the applicants initially were denied admission to CIP because of their reading scores.

[2]Not all applicants took all tests for several reasons. Some decided that the program was not for them; some left in the middle of testing without explanation; still others made intial application but never returned for formal interviews and testing.

TABLE I

APPLICANT READING ACHIEVEMENT[1]

N = 498

GRADE EQUIVALENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Below - 4.9	70	14%
5.0 - 5.9	119	24%
6.0 - 6.9	84	17%
7.0 - 7.9	88	18%
8.0 - 8.9	50	10%
9.0 - 9.9	15	3%
10.0 -10.9	28	6%
11.0 -11.9	26	5%
Above -12.0	18	4%

Average Grade Equivalent for Group = 7.1

[1]Stanford Reading Achievement Test, Form A

TABLE II

APPLICANT MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT[1]

N = 500

GRADE EQUIVALENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Below - 4.9	68	14%
5.0 - 5.9	43	9%
6.0 - 6.9	126	25%
7.0 - 7.9	89	18%
8.0 - 8.9	85	17%
9.0 - 9.9	40	8%
10.0 - 10.9	19	4%
11.0 - 11.9	13	3%
Above - 12.0	17	3%

Average Grade Equivalent for Group = 7.3

[1]Stanford Mathematics Achievement Test, Form A

These tables, along with data from feeder schools,[1] indicated seven points:

1. Most of the applicants to CIP (84% of whom should have been in the eleventh or twelfth grade) were substantially behind the performance of average eleventh grade students nationwide in reading and mathematics achievement.

2. The average reading achievement (7.1 grade level) was slightly lower than the average mathematics achievement (7.3 grade level). Both levels were an average of four years below the national norm for students in the eleventh grade.

3. Fifty-five percent of the applicants tested at the low end of the scale (6.9 grade level or lower) in reading, and 47% were on the low end of the scale in mathematics. If these skills are important to later academic or life success, the students were seriously deficient.

4. In an absolute sense, lack of basic skills appears to be serious enough to account for previous school failure for most applicants. This turns out not to be the case.

5. They are behind. This is true whether their performance is compared with their actual grade in school (average, 10th grade) or where they should be if they had not fallen behind (11th grade). However, applicants' performance on these tests was not significantly different from that of all students in the city high schools in their age groups.[1]

6. This means that the students who applied to CIP were not less academically able than students who stayed in school, which in turn suggests they were not leaving the school because of academic deficiencies per se.

7. Finally, some applicants had high achievement scores in reading. About 9% were at grade level or above nationwide in reading. One implication is that the CIP program must meet the needs of students varying widely in basic academic skills.

[1]Feeder school averages are based on (1) an examination of a large sample of feeder school student records; (2) achievement data published in the Philadelphia Inquirer, February 15, 1975; and (3) personal communication with research personnel in the office of the School District of Philadelphia.

These test results are not synonymous with intellectual potential or ability. That is, they are not to be construed as reflections of ability to learn reading or mathematics. Rather, achievement tests assess performance, which in turn reflects learning ability, motivation, and educational opportunity. The wide apread of performance, but overall low scores, indicate that the applicants are a diverse group even though many are well behind the national norms for their grade level.

Performance on Measures of Ability to Learn

Cognitive ability may be roughly defined as skills by which we gain knowledge of ideas, or as our ability to learn from experience, to think, and to reason. This capacity can be measured in several ways. Most frequently, "I.Q." tests are used. Of these, one of the most frequently administered is the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC). While the term "I.Q." has gained currency as a descriptor of individual potential, the traits constituting the "intelligence quotient"remain open to disagreement among test developers, researchers, and educators

In assessing the cognitive or intellectual potential of minority individuals, the notion of I.Q. has generated considerable controversy. I.Q. is essentially a ratio of how much one has learned to one's age. If everyone's opportunities to learn were equal, the I.Q. would be a good indicator of inborn ability to learn from experience. But learning opportunities are decidedly unequal; so many contend that the tests commonly used to measure intelligence fail to yield high scores in minority populations because such tests are biased in favor of the majority culture.

The average score on most intelligence tests is 100, which indicates average learning for average age. The test items from which scores are computed usually reflect the experience of majority, middle-income culture. To reduce such bias, applicants to the Career Intern Program were given a test of non-verbal reasoning. That is, the test does not contain verbal problems (believed to be the most biased) but does require much thought and reasoning about relationships between the pictured model and other pictures, all of which closely resemble the model. For each of the 60 items in the test, applicants were asked to pick from six or eight choices the one most closely related to the model.

Table III indicates that of the 404 applicants taking this test, 262 or 65% of the group, scored average or better than what most high school students score. Further, an

average score is roughly equivalent to an I.Q. of 100 and equal to 100 on the WISC.

Of the group of students applying for CIP, well over half performed as well as or better than most people their age on this measure of ability, and about one quarter performed at levels usually indicating well above average ability to learn. Fifty-five interns, or 13%, however, performed at levels suggesting low motivation, slow learning or perhaps severe lack of opportunity to learn. (Volume II for raw score distributions on Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices.)

TABLE III

APPLICANT NON-VERBAL REASONING[1]

N = 404

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very low	13	3%
Low	42	10%
Below Average	87	22%
Average	160	40%
Above average	97	24%
High	5	1%

These results are consistent with observations and results of other studies. In the opinion of teachers and counselors from the sending schools, for example, CIP applicants could do well if they wanted to.

"Mark was doing well, he was one of the class leaders then for some reason he just stopped coming."

"Angelica wasn't what I would call an outstanding student but she did alright, when she applied herself. She never seemed to get her homework done though and just sort of fell behind."

"Tom's another case. He just could never settle down. He didn't have any trouble with his work but he was always causing trouble. It seemed like he was bored and just wanted attention."

[1]Raven Standard Progressive Matrices Test.

In one study, Geisinger (1975) found 381 employed Philadelphia dropouts were average or above in intelligence. He cites a larger survey of 21,000 dropouts in three states which reported that 50 percent had scores in the average range (90-109 I.Q.) and 11 percent were in the 110 I.Q. range or higher, a distribution similar to that of CIP applicants.

What has been learned so far? First, that the applicants are having academic problems, and second, that lack of ability to learn is not a problem for most. Why, then are these young people dropouts or potential dropouts? There are several possibilities: problems at home, problems in the schools, problems with other teenagers, or problems within the students themselves--e.g., little self-confidence or not believing that hard work can make a difference. For most applicants, all the above may be true to varying degrees. Below, each possibility is discussed for the group as a whole.

WHAT ARE THE APPLICANTS LIKE?

For the most part, CIP applicants have average or above average learning potential, but, in many cases, they lag far behind the national norms in their mastery of critical reading and mathematics skills. That is, the majority of applicants did not achieve at a level commensurate with their abilities.

The reasons underlying the divergence between ability and performance may be as diverse as the pool of students applying for the program, but one hunch has been that the problem is motivation. That is, people who believe they cannot succeed will not succeed; those who believe they are victims of external forces will not attempt to direct the course of their own lives.

At issue here is not that these perceptions are inaccurate reflections of reality; rather, that negative perceptions regarding oneself and one's ability to control one's environoment are harmful to success in school and in later life. This is the conclusion drawn by OICs/A and has been supported, in part by earlier research. Much of the structure and curriculum of CIP has been based on the assumption that motivation is the lock and that individualized instruction and a great deal of contact with caring adults in a "You must succeed" atmosphere is the key.

Do Applicants Feels They Control Their Own Destiny?

Historically, Americans have believed that through hard work people can succeed and, further, can control the course of their own lives: "It is what you are, not who you know." For children growing up in minority cultures, however, this sense of individual control may be lacking. In the classic study of inequality in American education, for example, James Coleman et al. (1966) found that students from low-income homes tend to feel an inability to control what happens to them: they feel who you know, and luck, are what really make a difference. Coleman also found that low-income youth who believed they could make a difference did well on measures of verbal and mathematical achievement, while self-esteem had no association with achievement. For higher income students, the reverse was true. Middle class students who had a high sense of self-worth had high scores, while internality or externality of control was unrelated to test performance.

On the basis of this finding, a substantial body of programs has grown up aimed at increasing the low-income person's belief that what one does makes a difference. One of the basic assumptions of OICs/A is that this belief is the beginning of successful career education.

It would be expected, by this line of reasoning, that many CIP applicants may have a sense of external (luck/influence) rather than internal (my abilities and energy) control. Table IV indicates that about one-third of the applicants to the Career Intern Program fall within such a category. About 30% of the students indicated they felt control rested within themselves. They indicated this by agreeing with statements such as, "Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action," or, "What happens to me is my own doing." About 40% of the students' view of society was not one where anyone can succeed through hard work, but one where individuals could exercise at least some, albeit limited influence on the course of their lives.

Thus, typical applicants to the CIP neither fit the popular stereotype of minority kids (feeling almost unable to control what happens to them) nor do they go to the other extreme and feel that they have the world by the tail. For the most part, they tend to believe that their opportunities are indeed limited but that at the same time there is some room to maneuver; that given half a chance they can make it--that's why they are applying--but their faith in the world is not very high. (See Volume II for the raw score distributions for Rotter's Internal-External Scale and derivation of categories.)

One of the beliefs of the Career Intern Program is that students served by the program need to be "turned around," or remotivated to realize they are or can be in control of their own destinies. For at least a third of the students applying to CIP this assumption seems valid. While these applicants may, and probably do, have other problems contributing to their difficulties in school, their belief that they cannot control their destinies appears to be one of the largest problems the Career Intern Program has to overcome.

About one-third of the applicants indicated by their test scores a belief that they do in fact control what happens to them. For these individuals, particularly, one must pose other ideas which might throw light on their lack of success in school. Such factors as family relationships, relationships with friends, and self-image for example, may provide explanations for school-related problems.

TABLE IV

APPLICANT LOCUS OF CONTROL[1]

N = 402

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Internal	40	10%
Internal	80	20%
Non-differentiated	163	41%
External	109	27%
Very External	10	2%

[1]Rotter Internality-Externality Scale

Do CIP Applicants Tend to Have Trouble With Their Families?

Applicants indicated their general feelings regarding family and home by responding "like Me" or Unlike Me" to items such as "My parents and I have a lot of fun together," and "My parents expect too much of me."

Data presented in Table V indicate that, by and large, applicants do not report trouble with their families. Rather, they feel good abcut their relationships to the parents and siblings. They claim to enjoy doing things together, feel their parents are supportive without being unreasonably demanding, and are willing to do their share to shoulder any economic burdens. Despite the fact that they are poor, they don't feel their parents are personal failures but are instead proud that they have been able to accomplish what they have, given the circumstances of life. (See Volume II for raw score distributions, Data presented in these tables are based on Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory.) About two-thirds of these students tended to view their family relationships positively, and almost one-third viewed these relationships very positively. Only about one-third of the students assessed family relationships negatively, but more of these felt only slightly negative, with a small minority of 7%, or 27 students, rating relationships to home and family very negatively.

TABLE V

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT FAMILY

N = 404

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	27	7%
Negative	127	31%
Positive	128	32%
Very Positive	122	30%

The fact that, for the most part, responses were positive does not mean CIP applicants never have family-related problems. According to additional data collected through individual interviews, many applicants have experienced family-related problems which may well be connected with their previous school performance. Such problems include: assuming responsibility for a large number of younger brothers and sisters, working because the family needs the extra money, coping with the economic problems associated with women who are the breadwinners of the family, and coping with the economic problems associated with low family incomes.

Of the total pool of 502, most CIP applicants come from families with at least two younger children. The applicants--by and large still children themselves--must assume at least partial responsibility for rearing them. While they may feel very positively about their brothers and sisters, as previous data have shown, the fact remains that the need to care for younger children affects the amount of energy and time a student realistically can make available for school-related activities. As one applicant said,

> "Look, man, before I can even think about coming to school in the morning, I got to feed and dress four younger brothers and get them to school. Then, when I get home, I got to take care of them 'til 7:00 or 8:00 at night. I don't have time for school."

Much has been written in recent years about job discrimination encountered by women. One of the worst aspects of such discrimination is the lower wages paid to women for jobs performed by both sexes. An overwhelming 75% of applicants to the the program come from homes in which a female parent or guardian is the primary source of income. Further, the jobs held by heads of households for this student population are low-paying and/or seasonal in nature: 40% of the CIP applicants live in families in which the wage earner does manual labor. Less than 5% have parents who are in high-status occupations, such as the professions or management positions. Only one percent have parents who have professions in medicine, law, education, or accounting. About a quarter of the breadwinners in applicants' families were unemployed.

Thus, a chronic shortage of money would seem to be a recurring problem for most of these applicants. Not only do most of the jobs held by heads of households tend to fall on the lower end of the economic scale, but since more breadwinners are female, their wages may be lower than could be expected for men holding similar positions. Because of this, 65% of the applicants report the need for at least a part-time job while in school in order to help support their families.

Do the Applicants Like Themselves?

Most of the applicants who took the tests felt they were not in complete control of their lives. One might infer, therefore, that as a group the applicants would have a negative self-image.

How well you like yourself may be more important than how much other people like you. It is widely believed that one of the saddest and most debilitating outcomes of poor educational experiences is children who do not feel they are worth very much, who feel they are not smart, pretty, fun to be with, or worth caring about. (The extreme converse, "I'm perfect;

just ask me," is believed to be over-compensation and not particularly desirable.)

But, contrary to expectations, data presented in Table VI show that most of the applicants were in fact positive when assessing their self-worth. They indicated this by responding "Unlike Me" to statements such as, "I often wish I were someone else," and "I can't be depended on." While the remainder saw themselves in a less positive light, few scored in the lowest category of the self-esteem scale. This suggests that, while applicants' perceptions of themselves differed from individual to individual, from highly positive to slightly negative, few considered themselves lacking individual worth.

TABLE VI

APPLICANTS' GENERAL SELF-ESTEEM[1]

N = 403

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very low	35	9%
Low	97	24%
Average	155	39%
High	107	27%
Very High	9	2%

How the applicants described themselves on the test was consistent with other perceptions. When asked in an interview whether they had been well thought of in previous schools, approximately 98% of the interviewees responded "yes". Applicants in these interviews appear to have pretty good feelings about themselves. There is little evidence that they blame their school problems on their own shortcomings. They tended to see themselves as being well liked by others, not exceptionally dumb or smart, fun to be with and generally worth caring about. This does not mean they don't feel they have been dealt a "bad deal". In many cases they feel this way, but they haven't let this destroy their sense of self worth.

[1] As measured by the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

Thus, the picture of these applicants is that they seemed to like themselves. Apparently, whatever negative experiences they may have endured, either in previous schooling or within a family situation, had not weakened their self-esteem.

Most Popular, No, But I've Got Plenty of Friends.

One might suppose that, since relationships with one's peers are a crucial element of any school situation, these applicants may have experienced problems in relating with other students and therefore, their sense of social self-esteem might be low. Do the data support such a possibility? To the contrary, as Table VII indicates, 83% of the applicants felt sure about themselves in a social context. They illustrated this by saying "yes" to such questions as, "I always know what to say to people," and "I'm popular with kids my own age." Observations show most interns are gregarious and outgoing, giving ample evidence of enjoying the company of others. While they would not describe themselves as "the most popular person I know", they do say, "but I have lots of friends." Not only do applicants feel good about their families and generally happy about themselves, they also perceive themselves to be well adjusted socially.

TABLE VII

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS TOWARD FRIENDS[1]

N = 403

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	8	2%
Negative	59	15%
Positive	219	54%
Very Positive	117	29%

What Were Their Former High Schools Like?

So far, it seems that whatever the causes of applicants' problems in school, these were not associated with difficulty in getting along with other people, nor were they related to doubts about self-worth. To find out what the problems were, one must turn to different areas.

[1] As measured by the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory

One likely place to look might be the applicants' original high schools. Within such schools one might begin to identify contexts, if not causes, which provided the soil where school-related problems took root.

Two major feeder schools from which prospective students come to CIP are Germantown and Roxborough High Schools. These schools have student populations of 3,100 and 2,700 respectively. In each school six counselors are available to assist the entire student population. The student population of Germantown is predominantly black, while that of Roxborough is mostly white. These are large, urban high schools, serving twice as many students as they were designed to accommodate. With few counselors plus overcrowded classes, they are unable to give students the individual time and attention wanted. As several of the applicants to CIP have stated during interviews:

> "The relationship that can be attained here (at CIP) between staff and students seem much closer, whereas in high school there is really only time for the much brighter students."
>
> "(Another) high school doesn't give you much help. The people don't seem as friendly (as at CIP)."
>
> "(The) classes were so overcrowded."
>
> "Other schools try to give you a hard way to go... as if you were in prison..."
>
> "...in high school you are treated as a class; here it seems to be on a personal basis."

These are representative of statements made by a majority of the students applying to CIP. One gets an impression of students somehow unable to cope with the size of their schools or with the consequent lack of personal attention they wanted but did not receive. Given these perceptions, it is interesting that as a group these students were not particularly hostile about their high schools. A large majority (82%) said that they felt they got along reasonably well with their teachers and that they were fairly treated; most (74%) also indicated that, given the size of the student bodies, the schools were being run as well as possible.

What, then, were the consequences of having attended schools such as those described above? For one thing, most of the students (63%) said they just "grew tired" of what seemed an oppressive atmosphere Most of the applicants were not getting good grades (the mean grade point average of this population was 1.2 out of a possible 4 points), and most

had attendance problems. Certainly, given a student population with family and economic problems, an "oppressive" and "impersonal" school atmosphere could contribute to fostering additional problems.

How Did They Perceive of Themselves as Students?

Given the conditions described above, one could ask, "Might not a school experience with which students have had little reason to feel successful contribute to a negative image of oneself as a student?"

The data overwhelmingtly indicate "yes ." Table VIII shows that 40% of the students perceived themselves very negatively, and 38% negatively, as shown by their answers to statements such as: "I find it very hard to talk in front of the class," and I'm proud of my school work." Conversely, only 3% of the group expressed very positive feelings about their "academic" self, and less than a fifth of the group expressed positive feelings.

As a group, the applicants perceived themselves as unsuccessful students. They are willing to admit they are not good students, and tend to attribute this to personality problems ("I don't like to talk in front of class") or to teacher attitudes (They're always coming down on me"). One may conclude then, that as a group they do not expect to succeed in school. Given a past history of failure such feelings are hardly surprising.

TABLE VIII

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT THEMSELVES AS STUDENTS[1]

N = 403

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	161	40%
Negative	153	38%
Positive	78	19%
Very Positive	11	3%

[1]As measured by The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

Neighborhood Problems

Are there any other problems not related directly to either school or home which help to characterize these applicants? There appear to be several which may be defined as "neighborhood-related" problems, such as gangs (along with the fear and danger they generate), and drugs.

How severe is the gang problem? Applicants are reluctant to discuss gangs at all, and if pressed during an interview, they will vigorously deny gangs cause any problems at all for them. Parents and guardians, however, frequently cite gangs as areas of concern. Within the Germantown area there are approximately 35 gangs, although the number of active fighting gangs fluctuates from day to day. Several gang-related concerns do affect the CIP applicant's school experience both in the public schools and in the Career Intern Program.

Virtually all the area of Philadelphia served by the CIP has been sub-divided into turfs by the gang organizations. The question of gang membership becomes a real concern for children in early adolescence, since the children are forced to become involved. As the children enter junior high school and, later, high school, they become accustomed to sporadic school related gang fights and perhaps take part in a few themselves. They learn which neighborhoods to avoid, and may be forced to take numerous detours in getting to school. At times, they may not be able to leave home at all.

One of the frequent inquiries made by parents during the intake sessions concerns the turf on which the Urban Career Education Center is situated. Many were relieved to find that UCEC is neutral territory, although the surrounding area is considered Haines Street gang turf. Such things as these not only create attendance problems, but gang obligations, conflicts, and pressures go with the student into the classroom, and can seriously affect school performance.

Gangs, then, are a fact of life in the school community. Their very presence suggests intimidating forces with which many of the students have to cope on a daily basis.

What about the problem of drugs? All one can say is that drugs are in abundant supply, and that the peer pressure brought to bear on these students to "get high" is enormous.

> "Hell, I get up in the morning and my brother's already high; I come to school and pass my friends on the way, and they're stoned. How can you avoid it?"

The combination of gangs and the fear of physical violence, on the one hand, and of drugs and the mental disorientation produced on the other, presents a series of problems and potential problems which lessen the likelihood of school success.

In Summary

- For the most part, applicants do not have a firm sense that their actions and choices will determine what happens to them.
- In general, the applicants feel good about themselves and their worth as people.
- They are very positive about their relationships with their families.
- Nonetheless they tend to have family-related problems, such as the care of younger brothers and sisters or the need to help support their families. This can affect their performance in school.
- They feel good about their relationships with friends.
- Overwhelmingly, they have negative feelings about themselves as students.

ARE THE STUDENTS READY TO UNDERTAKE CAREER EDUCATION?

So far, certain factors have been discussed, such as academic performance intelligence, and self-esteem, which may in part account for the previous lack of academic success. While a knowledge of such factors is essential to a description of Career Intern Program applicants, it is not sufficient in helping the program administrators judge readiness for career exploration. Since the Career Intern Program is, by definition, an educational experience seeking to help young people "turn on" to careers, it is essential to know if the applicant group is ready fo such an experience. While the term "readiness" is difficult to define, a start can be made by asking four related questions: (1) Are these individuals motivated to undertake such an experience? (2) Do they have the capacity to integrate career information by making long-range career plans? (3) Are they likely to use outside resources in making career plans? (4) How much accurate career knowledge do they currently have?

Are They Motivated?

This is a difficult question to answer, for the notion of motivation has many facets. In a sense, the term encompasses many of the school-related difficulties cited earlier in this section, such as poor grades, and low reading and mathematics achievement levels. If these are taken as criteria by which motivation is to be judged, then as a group the applicants to CIP are not well motivated to succeed in school. This chapter has also discussed several other factors which may contribute to a lack of previous success in school. Family-related problems, economic problems, problems with neighborhood gangs, with drugs, and with child-rearing, all are potential explanations for a lack of previous success in school. Such problems may not be simply ascribed to "low motivation." Certainly, their previous school experiences have not led these applicants to believe that schools can help them overcome these problems. In this sense, then, the motivation of these applicants may be described as low.

The evidence supporting the conclusion of low motivation is historical. It is based upon previous attendance problems, previous grades, previous experience. While this evidence is not to be taken lightly, the fact that these students were seeking admission to the program may indicate that, at the time of application, their motivation was relatively high. Applicants were sufficiently motivated to make an initial visit to the program and to submit themselves to lengthy interviewing and testing--all with the knowledge that, having completed the application process, they still might not get into the program because of the lottery procedures. This suggests that, as a group, applicants are motivated to the extent that they wish to make a major change in their lives.

In light of negative experiences with school, why did applicants who had dropped out apply to the Career Intern Program, thereby giving education a "second chance"? Most indicated during their intake interviews that they realized some of them after trying unsuccessfully to obtain jobs the need for additional education and viewed CIP as an alternative means of acquiring it.

In talking with them it is clear that they feel a kind of quiet desperation. Many of them have been out in the world trying to make a living. All of them have friends who have tried to "make it" without a high school diploma. Most have experienced first hand, either personally or through their parents, the frustration of having doors shut due to the lack of an education. There's little doubt they're willing to try. If they fail, it won't be because they lack motivation. They want a diploma and they want good jobs.

Do They Make Use of Resources?

One way of finding out how prone the applicants would be to use career resources in the future would be to ask, "How extensively have these applicants used career resources which may have been available to them in the past?" The data presented in Table IX show the group had used extensively whatever sources were available. High scores on this test meant applicants had talked to people in the world of business, or to teachers and/or school counselors, and had consulted books or audio-visual aids in obtaining information. (See Volume II for the raw score distributions and the derivation of categories used. These tables are based on Super's Career Development Inventory.)

TABLE IX

APPLICANTS' USE OF RESOURCES FOR CAREER EXPLORATION

N = 400

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	6	2%
Low	17	4%
Below Average	73	18%
Average	120	30%
Above Average	106	27%
High	59	14%
Very High	19	5%

The average score for the group of CIP applicants in this case was higher than the average score for students taking the test in general. That is, as a group, the applicants to the Career Intern Program took greater advantage of the resources open to them than did other students around the country who took this test.

This being the case, a question springs to mind. If students are able to exploit career and job resources available to them, why do they drop out of school or stop attending when high school graduates have the best chances of getting into good careers? The contradiction is only apparent. Virtually all of the dropouts were already failing when they left school.

From their viewpoint there was no realistic possibility that they would ever get a diploma anyway. Therefore, to stay in school would have been tantamount to passing up the chance to at least do something with their lives, as limited as this might be, while staying in school would have meant simply spinning one's wheels. Even dropping out, under certain conditions, can be seen as the best use of available resources.

Although these students may have either dropped out of school or may have been considering such an action, they were still concerned about their futures. While they may have been uncertain as to the best means for getting where they wanted to go, they did have a destination in mind; and in choosing that destination, they had solicited information from a large array of sources.

While about three quarters of the applicants did make use of a number of outside resources, about a quarter of the group did not. This may mean that such applicants were not aware of the resources available to them, that they did not respect the judgments of others, or that they did not find it necessary to consult external sources when making career plans. It does not mean, however, that this sub-group--given a rich and pertinent array of decision-making information--would not take advantage of it.

Little is known about the quality of the resources utilized by most of the applicant group. Career information received from outside sources may have been correct, or it may have been completely erroneous. In addition, resources consulted may or may not have taken into account the aptitudes and abilities of the applicants. Regardless of the quality of the resources used, however, these applicants as a group described themselves as taking advantage of career resources available to them. This tendancy to remain open and to explore various sources of information is important to the program, for it means that applicants have not closed themselves off before the fact and will tend to use information sources made available by the program.

Do They Possess Accurate Career Information?

Ability to use career resources to one's advantage is, of course, not a very valuable skill unless there are resources available. An equally important question is, "How much did applicants really know about careers and jobs?" On this score, CIP applicants did not fare so well, as the table presented below indicates. Their information turned out to

be very limited and in many cases seriously inaccurate. Not unexpectedly, they knew very little about what it takes to become a doctor or lawyer, what kinds of things people in the professions or white-collar jobs really do, what the relationship was between specific school subjects or academic skills and job requirements nor what it takes to get into the higher status occupations.

The average score for the group was 13, a full standard deviation below the nationwide average of 17, indicating that these applicants possessed far less actual career information than most other students around the country. This suggests that while the applicants had made extensive use of available resources, the latter tended to be scanty and/or misinformed. It further suggests that in making their career plans, these applicants did not, as a group, use accurate sources of information.

TABLE X

APPLICANTS' CAREER INFORMATION[1]

N = 407

CATEGORIES	NUMBERS	PERCENT
Very Low	35	9%
Low	90	22%
Below Average	140	34%
Average	91	22%
Above Average	41	10%
High	8	2%
Very High	2	0%

The preceding generalizations are true for about two-thirds of the group who completed this instrument, or 265 people. About one-third of the group, however, possessed enough information about careers to score at or above the national average.

[1] Super Career Development Inventory

Given the range of educational problems described earlier, it is not surprising that, by and large, applicants do not possess accurate career information. Moreover in terms of traits as critical as the possession of actual career information--such as willingness to seek out external resources--these applicants were not at all deficient. Given appropriate information, the applicants, as a group, would probably use it and integrate it into long-range plans, according to their self-descriptions on the inventory, to be discussed in the section which follows.

Because of the importance of this finding, more details about the measure used seem important. Low scores on this instrument indicate students are unable to respond accurately to questions concerning the "fit" between certain abstract personality traits (i.e., "liking to do your homework alone") and the demands of certain job situations. It is likely that most of the students in this country who achieved high scores on this test are exposed for long periods of time to individuals who hold jobs within a broad spectrum of occupations. The average middle-class child, for example, is probably exposed to a large amount of career information. Such a child matures in an atmosphere (both at school and at home) filled with adults from most, if not all, of the common professions. She/he attends school from kindergarten onward with the children of professionals from many fields. Due to such prolonged exposure, these children are constantly confronted by social, economic, and career-related values important to the predominant beliefs of middle class culture in the United States. While children from lower-income families, such as applicants to the Career Intern Program, are also exposed to various careers, in all likelihood such career-exposure is not analagous to that experienced by the middle-class children.

Only 1% of all interns' parents interviewed had professional occupations such as medicine, law, accounting, education, and the like; about 25% were unemployed (versus a national average of about 5.5% as of August 1974), and over 40% were employed in manual labor. Furthermore, less than 5% of all parents were employed in any of the higher status occupations, including both professional and managerial. It can be concluded that the applicants to this program did not grow up with a working knowledge of a broad range of middle-class careers. This helps to explain why many of the applicant group possessed so little information about the careers included in this inventory.

How Mature Are the Applicants in Their Ability to Plan for a Career?

Data presented in Table XI indicate that, by and large, these individuals were able to utilize career information in the formulation of plans for their future. This means that most of the people tested were able to relate information about specific careers to their individual aptitudes and interests. The average, or mean score of the applicants who completed the instrument measuring ability to plan was less than the national average score, but this difference is not educationally meaningful on this inventory.

TABLE XI

APPLICANTS' PLANNING ABILITY[1]

N = 397

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	10	3%
Low	32	8%
Below Average	85	21%
Average	121	30%
Above Average	99	25%
High	33	8%
Very High	17	4%

Slightly more than a third of the group scored above the national average, while a little less than a third scored below the average. In terms of ability to plan for a career, the pool of applicants to the Career Intern Program falls into three almost equal groups: those who cannot plan very well, those who can plan reasonably well, and those who can plan very well.

Previous discussions have stressed the scope and depth of the problems affecting the lives of these individuals when they applied to CIP. In the context of these problems, it is noteworthy that those who completed the inventory showed on the whole, such a high degree of maturity.

[1]As measured by the Super Career Development Inventory.

FIGURE 2

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF CIP APPLICANTS
AND PARENTS AND GUARDIANS FOR CIP APPLICANTS

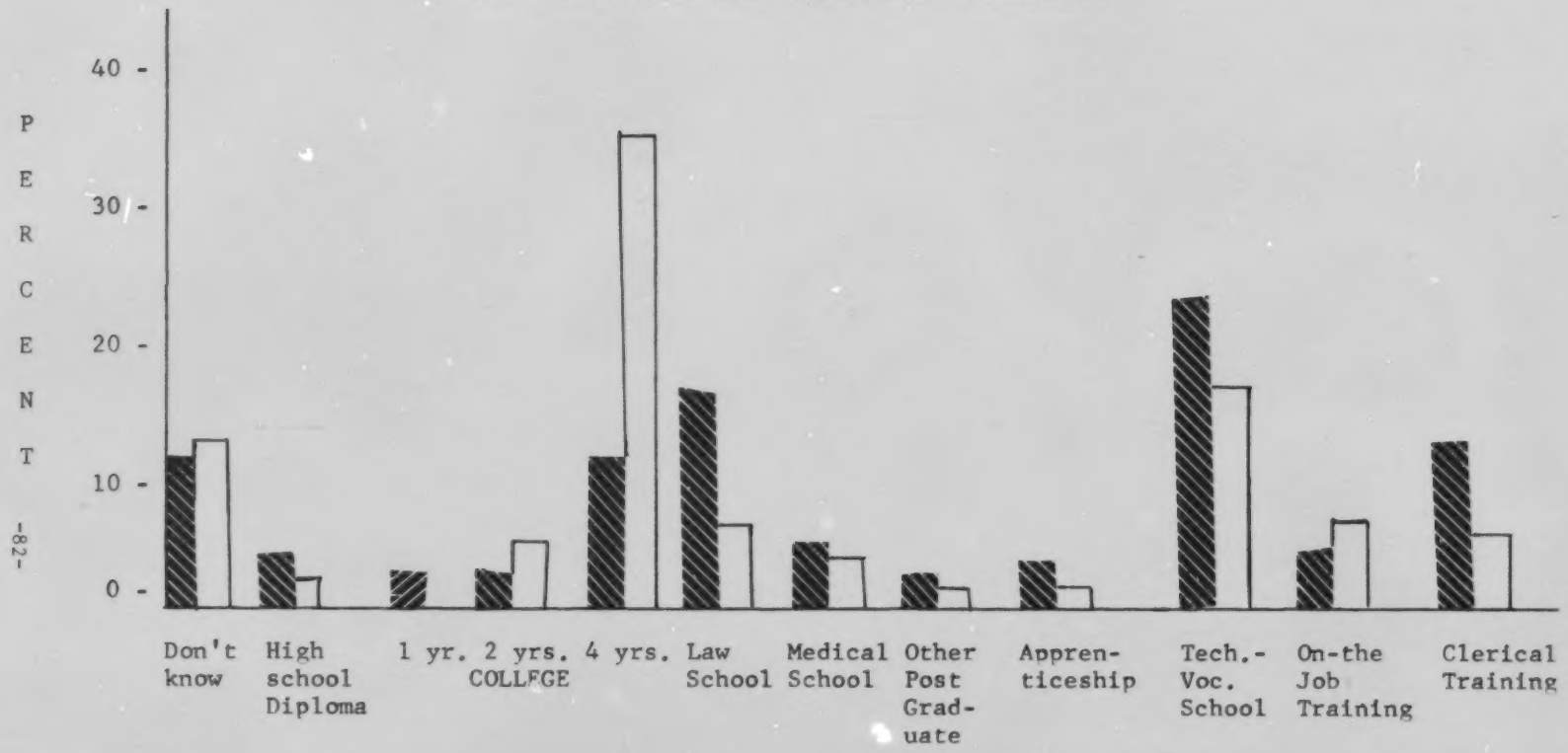
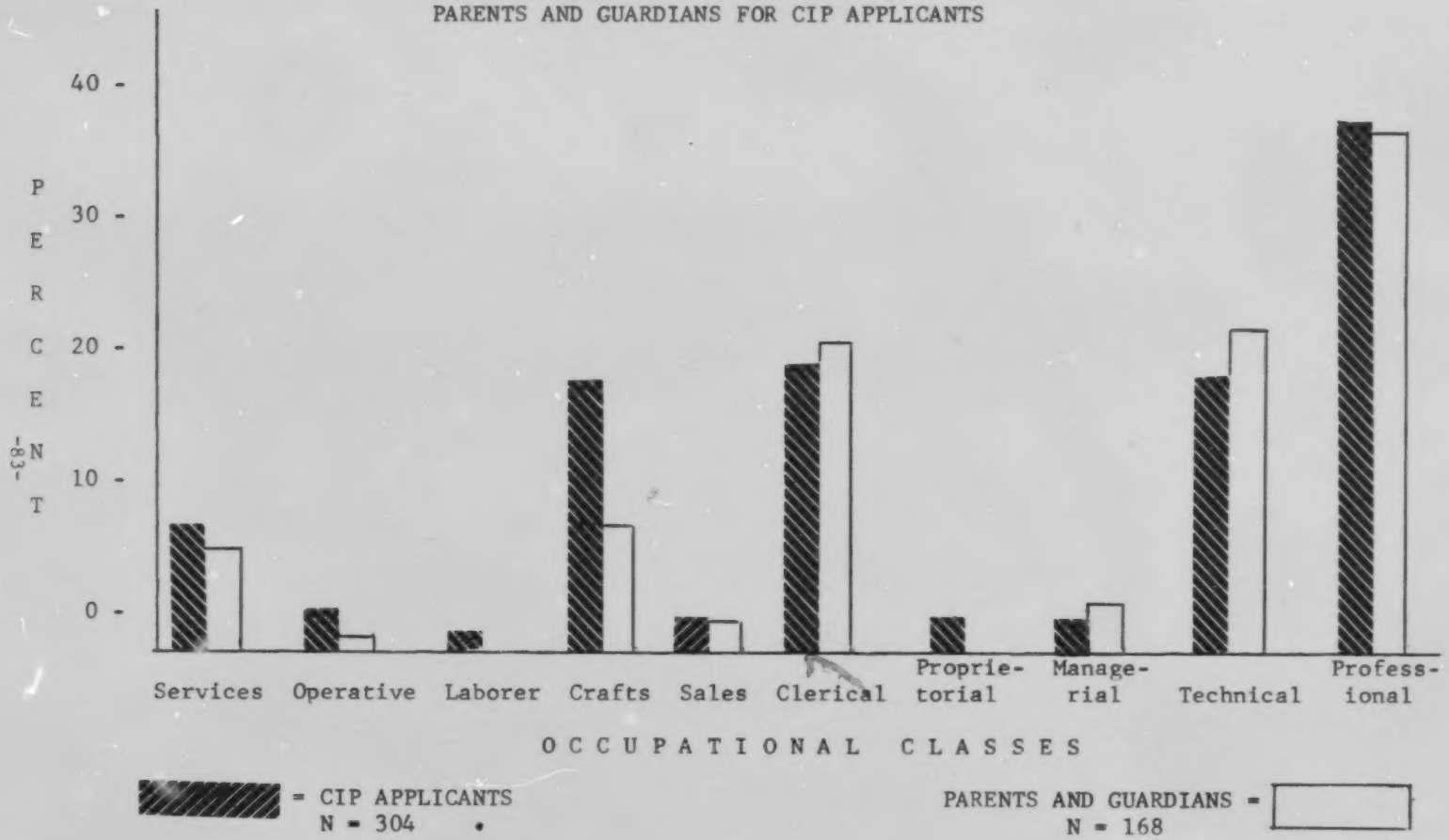


FIGURE 3

CAREER ASPIRATIONS OF CIP APPLICANTS AND PARENTS AND GUARDIANS FOR CIP APPLICANTS



Thus in the matter of planning for careers or for the future in general, applicants to the CIP are as capable as most of their peers. According to the applicant interview data, most of them had thought a good bit about what they wanted to do and made plans to that end. For a number who had been out in the world of work for some time, the decision to apply to the CIP represented a step in carrying out their career plans. It had become apparent that they were likely to be locked into secondary labor market jobs unless they somehow were able to get a high school diploma. The CIP held forth hope that this was attainable.

STUDENT ASPIRATIONS/PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS AND WHERE THE TWAIN SHALL MEET

Aspirations of Applicants for Themselves

Most of the applicants had considered specific careers before applying to the Career Intern Program. What careers had they hoped to follow? Figure 3 shows that about 35% of the group interviewed hope to follow a career in one of the professional occupations. Since previous discussions have indicated that most applicants in this group did not possess adequate career information, some might argue that these students did not acutally know the skills required to pursue such occupations, and that their aspirations were unrealistic. Yet Figure 2, which presents some data on educational aspirations, shows that about 12% wanted to attend a four-year college, while an additional 20% hoped to go beyond college to medical school, law school, or some other post-graduate work. About 38% of the students applying aspired to a four-year college or beyond. The students indicating aspirations for a professional career were the same as those who wanted college and post-graduate training. At least in terms of the educational requirements for professional occupations, the applicants were realistic.

In the other occupational areas, the relationship between career and education aspirations is also clear. A fifth of the applicants indicated they hoped to pursue technical occupations like computer programming, radio servicing, or drafting. Some of these careers require on-the-job training; still others, work at a two-year college or technical/vocational school. The persons desiring career in these areas were among those who indicated that their educational aspirations ran to two-year colleges, on-the-job training, and so forth.

Twenty percent of the group, wanted to pursue occupations in the crafts area, such as carpentry, pottery, or cabinet-making. Many of these were among those indicating they wished either apprenticeships, on-the-job training, or technical/vocational schools. This was also the case with those few applicants who said they hoped to become machine operators.

About one out of five applicants, mostly women, said they wanted to go into some sort of clerical work. When talking about their educational aspirations, however, only 15% said they wanted post-high school clerical training. The remainder indicated they did not know what their educational aspirations were. It may be that some of those wishing clerical positions did not know what, if any additional training would be required for such positions.

Five percent of the group were fairly evenly divided in their aspirations among occupations in sales, proprietorships of their own (unspecified) businesses, and business management. These individuals were scattered along the range of educational aspirations, as were the applicants wishing to pursue service careers.

Most of the applicants aspired to specific careers, and while they might not have known very much about these occupations, most seemed to have a general notion about the education required. Furthermore, almost 40% of the group were interested in careers calling for at least a college diploma, and a large majority selected careers which would require some post-high school education and/or training. As a group, the applicants tended to be fairly ambitious when discussing their hopes for the future.

Parental Aspirations for the Applicants

Educators have known for some time that parents exert a tremendous influence upon the direction of their children's lives, both in and out of school. What are the aspirations of these parents for their children? In general, they tend to be higher than those of the applicants. Educationally, for example, Figure 2 indicates that almost three times as many parents hoped their children would go to four-year colleges as did the children themselves. Conversely, about twice as many applicants expressed a desire to attend technical/vocational schools or clerical training as did the parents for their children. This discrepancy is to be expected since most parents want more for their children than they had for themselves. Almost half the parents had less than a twelfth-grade education, and only about 6%, or 16 parents, had any technical training beyond high school. Twenty-nine parents

(roughly 11%) had some college education, and 4% had completed college. It is reasonable to suppose that parents, even more than their children, recognize the importance of additional education, and this can account for the difference between parents and children in terms of educational aspirations.

During initial intake interviews, parents were asked about the types of occupations they wished their children would undertake. These data are shown in Figure 3. In most cases, parental hopes were quite similar to those the applicants expressed. That is, parents tended, by and large, to want the same careers as their children wanted for themselves. The largest category of occupational aspirations was in the professional fields for both parents and students, while the second largest fields selected were clerical and technical occupations.

There were, however, two areas of some disagreement between parents and children. Only 18% of the applicants indicated they hoped to pursue a technical career, while 25% of the parents said they hoped their children would follow careers in this area. Conversely, 18% of the applicants expressed a desire to have a career in the crafts area, while only 8% of the parents hoped for these same careers for their children. A factor here may be that of job status. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, in the eyes of parents, jobs in technical fields have a higher status and given the technological nature of our society, are more secure than the crafts. Therefore, parents might prefer that their children adopt careers within higher status areas.

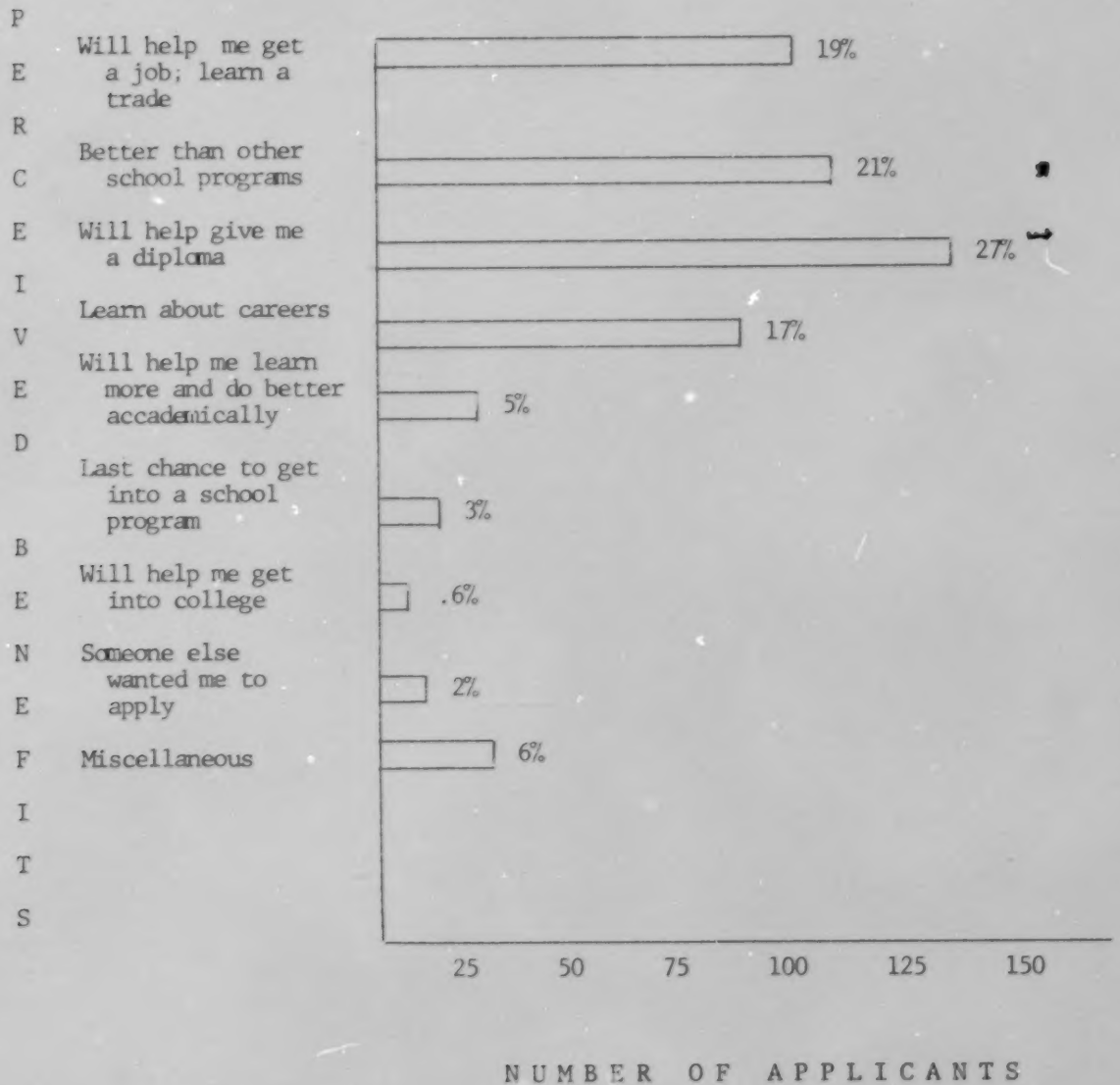
This discussion has revealed the following about applicant and parental aspirations for careers and education:

- Applicants to the program hoped to pursue careers requiring a higher degree of education and having more status than the jobs held by their parents.
- About half the applicant group wanted to have careers in either professional or technical fields.
- Parents of applicants hoped their children would have more education and higher status jobs than the children wished for themselves.
- By and large, parents and their children agreed on the types of careers the applicants should pursue.

FIGURE 4

BENEFITS OF CIP AS EXPECTED BY CIP APPLICANTS

N = 494



WHAT DO THE APPLICANTS EXPECT OF CIP?

The preceding sections have discussed what the applicants bring to the Career Intern Program in terms of hopes, dreams, and problems. What do the applicants expect CIP will do for them? Figure 4 shows the kinds of expectations most applicants had of the program. About one-fifth hoped the program would help them either get a job or learn a trade, while about one-quarter stated they expected the program to help them get a diploma. Another fifth hoped CIP would help them learn more than they had in their old schools, and an additional smaller group expected the program would help them "do better" academically than they had in previous schools. Interestingly, only 1% of the group expected the program to help them get into college. About 6% of the responses were so individualized that they could not be lumped together into any single category. Here are three examples of such responses:

> " I have a job now but I want to get one that pays better."
> "I don't really know what (I expect), but I hope it's better than what I have going now."
>
> "This is the only school where I can bring my baby with me."

Of the answers which could be put into categories, most concentrated upon the educational rather than the career aspects of CIP. Half the applicants mentioned such factors as getting a diploma, learning more, and doing better academically.

A SUMMARY OF APPLICANT CHARACTERISTICS

This section has tried to present a picture of what these applicants were like as a group when applying to the Carrer Intern Program. As noted in the beginning, group pictures do not tell the whole story, for each applicant differs from the others. Still, since large numbers of applicants have certain characteristics in common, it is possible to make some generalizations about the group. Here, then, are some statements which seem to apply either to the group as whole or to subgroups of applicants:

- Most applicants were 16 or 17 years of age, though a few were 19 and older.
- Applicants were fairly evenly divided between men and women.
- Slightly less than half the people applying had already dropped out of school, while the remainder were still attending school.
- Most were a year behind in school, were failing, and if attending, were doing so sporadically.
- Almost all applicants had very low grade point averages in their previous schools.
- Most applicants had far fewer credits for their grade level than they should have had.
- Most were far below grade level but not necessarily below the level of most students in their grade at their previous high schools in reading and mathematics.
- The average intelligence test performance of this group was about the same as for students of similar ages throughout the country. A large subgroup demonstrated above-average intelligence. Most applicants, then, did not lack the ability to learn.
- A large group of applicants believed they could not exercise much control over what happens to them in life.
- These students' view of society was not one where anyone could succeed through hard work.
- Many applicants either had to help support their families or had to take care of younger brothers and sisters because parents worked long hours in order to support the family.
- The applicants came from homes where the primary breadwinner tended to be engaged in a low status occupation.
- For most, neighborhood gangs are a problem.

- Most applicants had very positive opinions of themselves in general and felt good about their relationship with their friends.

- Most applicants did not feel they were good students or could do well in school.

- Applicants had the ability to plan for careers and had used whatever resources were available to them in thinking about future occupations.

- The group as a whole did not possess much accurate career information.

- The parents of about half the applicants did not have a high school diploma.

- Both applicants and their parents hoped that the former would have occupations that far exceeded the status level of the parents' jobs.

- Applicants and their parents hoped that the former would have a much higher degree of education than the parents.

- Many, if not most, of the applicants seemed more concerned about the academic aspects of CIP than about the help the program could give them in relation to choosing a career. Urgently, they wanted a diploma.

"That looks like somebody I know:" A Typical Applicant[1]

Sheila is Black, 17, and in the tenth grade at Germantown High School. She is a year behind the friends with whom she went to Junior High School and during the past semester failed all but one of her courses. This semester, she has hardly attended school at all and is thinking of quitting. She probably would if a good job came along, despite the fact that her mother would be heartbroken.

Sheila did OK in school until she got to high school. Her father who had been sick and unemployed for a long time, died. He left Sheila, her mother, one sister who is out of school and a younger brother and sister. Sheila and her mother have

[1] "Sheila" is a composite, not an actual intern.

always been close, confiding in each other, helping each other and enjoying doing things together. However, the school thing is beginning to come between them.

Her mother, who worked part time while her husband was alive, now works full time as a clerk in a local department store. Her income is pretty low so Shelia's older sister contributes some money each week; Sheila tries to do as much babysitting as she can to help out with her own expenses. She also has to spend some time each day taking care of her younger brother and sister while her mother works.

Ever since her father died, she has been having trouble in school. She missed a lot while he was sick and just never seemed to catch up. She has to take a public bus to the school, which is quite a hassle. More than once her friends have talked her into taking the day off and getting high. She knows this is not right and has even tried to talk to her school counselor about her problems several times, but he had so many people to see that she must make an appointment several days ahead. By the time her turn comes to see him she has either forgotten or is absent

She heard about the CIP through her mother, who heard about it from a fellow-worker whose son was an intern. It was her mother who first contacted the director of the program who in turn referred her to the School District Coordinator.

Sheila's mother took a morning off to go with her for her intake interview. She was scared when she learned she was going to take a reading and math test since she was failing algebra in school. However, she came out all right, scoring at the eighth grade level in reading and sixth grade in math--well over the cut off point for entry into the program. She quickly warmed up to the intake interviewer and had no difficulty with the questionnaire. She had been thinking about a career for a long time -- especially since her father had died. In a pamphlet she had picked up in school there had been a pitch about becoming a dental assistant. She thought it sounded interesting and ever since had secretly hoped she could become one. The only person she had mentioned this to was her mother who had encouraged her to keep going to school if that was what she really wanted.

Sheila knew that to become a dental assistant she would not only have to finish high school but would have to go on and get some more training. She was confident that she could do it if only given the chance. Therefore, it hadn't taken much urging to get her to come to the CIP.

After the intake interview and testing, she was really excited about getting in. Her only concern was that she might not be selected in the lottery. Anyway, all she could do now was go home and wait for a phone call from one of the counselors.

Are her hopes justified? Given where she is, where she has been, and where she hopes to go, what can the program be likely to do to help her for herself?

WHAT TO EXPECT OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

This discussion has said quite a bit about what applicants to the Career Intern Program are like, and has shown that they score quite high as a group on some of the characteristics measured and quite low on others. One of the ways to judge the success of CIP is to determine how able it is to help people grow in areas of weakness, while helping them to sustain their areas of strength. It is reasonable at this time to ask, "In what areas can the CIP help interns, and in what areas can the program be expected to have a measurable influence?"

The CIP, as described in Chapter II is a career education program, constructed around a curriculum offering a fusion of academic and career concerns. There are three logical areas in which it can expect to contribute some changes in the lives of Sheila and others. It should help them to change as students, it should be able to support and improve their attitudes toward life (how they feel about things), and it should help them set out on the road to full, productive, post-high school lives. Within each of these general areas we should expect certain changes to take place and we hope that other changes would not occur.

BETTER STUDENTS: A DIPLOMA

Should CIP Affect Reading and Mathematics Achievement?

If nothing else, applicants selected for CIP should have received their diploma, or still be enrolled in CIP, or have transferred to other schools. Applicants who applied for, but were not selected for CIP, should be substantially less likely to have their diploma or be enrolled in other schools.

The highly individualized nature of the program, the staff intern ration, the availability of math and reading labs, and the special curricula should help almost all interns make substantial improvements in both mathematics and reading skills. As a second criterion for judging the CIP, large increases in mathematics and reading achievement test scores are expected.

Can the Program Have an Effect on Reasoning?

As indicated in Table III, almost 75% of those taking the test to measure non-verbal reasoning scored average or better. It is unrealistic to expect much growth (as measured by the tests) for these students during their tenure at CIP. In addition, CIP is not designed to raise IQ but to mobilize the students' capacities to improve achievement and personal-social skills. Thus changes in performance on the measure of abstract reasoning would be likely only for youth with room to grow , and only as an unexpected (but welcome) extra benefit.

Should Change Occur With Regard to the Notion of Internal/External Control?

There are three ways of looking at this. Some researchers believe internality or externality is a deeply rooted personality trait of uncertain origin, unlikely to change as a result of almost any educational program. Others argue that a belief in internal control is preferable to external control for low income youth, and that educational programs should be able to increase the belief that what an individual does can make a difference (Coleman et al., 1966).

The Career Intern Program, however, believes that internal control as a factor in determining future success in life is very important. It is hoped, therefore, that those in the program who feel unable to grasp their own destiny will move toward a belief that they are in control of their own lives. In light of the controversy surrounding this concept, it would be unreasonable to offer such growth as a firm expectancy of CIP; however, movement toward a belief in internal control is offered as a tentative criterion by which the program may be judged.

Can an Increase in Positive Feelings Toward Their Families Be Expected?

Because most applicants already felt very positive about their relationships with their families, it is unlikely that these feelings will increase to any measurable extent. As with the other characteristics, however, the scores should not decrease.

Should an Influence on General Self-Esteem Be Anticipated?

Most of the applicants felt quite positive about themselves, and is unlikely they will feel more positive as time goes on. It is however, reasonable to expect that current, positive self-images will be maintained. Scores may not increase significantly, but they should not decrease. CIP should serve to reconfirm their feelings of worthwhileness.

Can the Program Affect Relationships Interns Have with Their Families?

Again, the applicant group does not have much room for measurable improvement, since almost all applicants had very positive feelings about their relationships with friends. It is entirely possible that the CIP may help interns redefine the nature of friendly relationships (interns might, for example, begin to perceive each other as potential learning scores); yet it is doubtful that analyses will note an increase in the test score measuring social self-esteem. Again, while one would not expect the level of social self-esteem to rise, it should not fall.

On the other hand, applicants suggested that their relationship with friends was in part responsible for their failure in school. Because having friends was important, and because these friends did not support the applicants' school efforts, they were a bad influence. Their experiences in the CIP should not change the importance interns attach to friends, but should enable the interns to have friends who can be positive rather than negative forces in each others' lives.

Can Improvement in Academic Self-Image Be Anticipated?

The academic self-image of CIP interns should improve dramatically. As students, these applicants saw themselves in a very poor light. If the program meets its objectives, interns should begin to experience feelings of success in school. This, in turn, should lead to a substantial increase in positive feeling about themselves as students. This, then, is another criterion by which the success of the program will be judged.

Should CIP Affect the Degree to Which Interns Use External Resources?

For the majority of interns, little growth can be expected in the use of external resources. As a group, applicants reported using such resources--so much so, in fact, that they scored well above the national average in this area. However, CIP can still have an effect. It could help interns use more efficient and appropriate resources, but the degree of usage will probably not increase appreciably.

Can CIP Help Interns Gain More Accurate Career Information?

The program should indeed help interns acquire more accurate career information. CIP provides Career Advisors, a Career Counseling Seminar, a Career Development Plan to use as a guide and requires Hands-on experiences. Graduates should be extremely well informed about a wide range of careers and jobs.

The majority of applicants to the program have very little accurate career information. There is plenty of room for growth. Because one goal of CIP is to provide interns with this information, the program, if successful, should yield substantial increases in both the depth and the scope of career information posed by interns. This is not the criterion for measuring the program's effectiveness.

Should the Program Affect Interns' Abilities to Plan for Careers?

In most cases, CIP should not affect planning ability to a great extent because most interns have already scored fairly high in this area. For the majority of the group, only slight improvement can be expected. This does not mean that the program cannot help interns generate more realistic plans (if in fact their current plans are unrealistic); rather it means that, according to the measurement used, the applicants to CIP are only slightly below the national average. While test scores should increase somewhat after interns have been in the program awhile, this increase probably will be small, since test performance has left little room for dramatic growth. There should be evidence of normal growth and of increased planning sophistication.

Post High School Experiences

The Career Intern Program aims to prepare interns to enter careers in which they will be happy, successful, and satisfied. All the criteria above are steps to this outcome. Therefore, the most crucial criterion for judging CIP should relate to what happens to interns after they leave the program.

Suppose graduates have wonderful feelings about themselves in every respect; suppose they have learned to read well and perform mathematical problems with excellent proficiency; and, further suppose these hypothetical graduates feel completely in control of their lives. Then, is the program effective? That depends.

Graduates should leave the program more prepared to enter the job market than they were upon entering, or they should be placed in a context within which desired skills can be learned; these, too, are criteria by which program success can be measured. Ideally, graduates should be able to acquire and hold jobs in the fields of their choice-jobs of higher status and greater pay than those held by their parents; jobs in which they feel the future is bright, and in which they have an opportunity to move up the career ladder. Given prevailing economic realities, however, particularly in relation to a growing unemployment rate, these "ideal" criteria may be unrealistic. Within the current economic context, whether or not CIP graduates are able to obtain and retain employment may be the only reasonable criteria by which to assess program effectiveness in relation to placing interns within the job market.

IN SUMMARY

As Students

- Most of them should graduate.
- They should improve math and reading skills.
- They should not change much in their reasoning ability.

How Should We Expect Interns to Change or Not to Change in Attitudes?

- They should not change their feelings about their families.
- They should not change much in the way they feel about themselves.
- They should not feel much different about their friends, except maybe to learn to direct these relationships for positive ends.
- They should see themselves as better students.
- They should not change much in the way they feel in control of things.

In Their Career Prospects

- They should not change much in their resourcefulness.
- They should become much more knowledgeable about careers.

- o They should not change much in planning skills.
- o A good number should enter post-secondary school and
- o A good number should go directly into jobs.

The following chapters pick up the story of the interns after their first months in CIP, follows them through graduation until a year later, and considers what about CIP may have accounted for the programs' occupational failures and remarkable successes.

References

Coleman, James S., Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966. See pp. 288-290.

Hope, Richard and Pennick, Vincent. "Internal and External Control as Related to Training and Race Relations." Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Conference, August 1974.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS FIVE THROUGH FOURTEEN

Chapter Five begins ten weeks after the interns have entered CIP. Succeeding chapters follow them through graduation, and, for some, up to a year later, through school and to work in December of 1975. These chapters answer the question: does CIP have the effects one would expect it?---and were there any surprises along the way?

The answer to these questions is "yes": CIP works, and perhaps the most surprising finding is how strong the evidence of its effectiveness seems to be. This does not mean that every intern is now President and every control student is repeating 3rd grade. First, a career education program rarely will define success only by income, highest level of education attained or highest occupational status achieved. Second, CIP did not help every student, even on its own terms.

The reader thus should expect good news, but not a universal solution to the educational problems of youth from low-income families.

Chapters ten through twelve specifically deal with what contributes to CIP's effectiveness. Lastly, the question of transportability is addressed in chapter fourteen If CIP is workable only at 62 West Harvey Street, the taxpayers will have gotten little in return for their educational R&D dollars. What is reproducible must be speculative, but school systems wishing to bring the news from Philadelphia to their town probably can do so with some confidence of its adaptability.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROGRAM EFFECTS AFTER THE FIRST TEN WEEKS

This chapter presents the short-term effects of the program. Intermediate and longer-term effects will be addressed in the next chapters. The phrase "short-term" in this context refers to the first ten weeks of the program. This period, which includes the Career Counseling Seminar, has two major purposes:

1. To help interns begin to feel better about themselves and the amount of control they can exercise over their lives.

2. To help interns begin to gain greater amounts of information about careers and a better ability to make plans for careers.

Earlier sections described several characteristics of people applying to the Career Intern Program. In them were several statements about self-esteem, career knowledge and planning ability, and so on. In some cases, such as with general self-esteem, further growth was not likely. In other areas, such as the possession of accurate career information, there was substantial room for growth. In examining program effectiveness, it would be reasonable to look first at these areas. The criteria, then, for making some tentative conclusions about the first weeks of the program are as follows:

- Internal/external control - while some movement among interns toward the belief that they are in control of their lives would be desirable, it is unrealistic to expect much change during the first ten weeks of the program.

- Genral and home self-esteem. Interns were already very positive in these areas; little growth is expected, but interns should maintain high levels.

- Relationships with friends. No major growth but continued positive feelings should be anticipated.

- o Academic self-esteem. Interns should feel better about themselves as students than they did when they applied to the program.

- o Degree to which interns use outside resources. Not much change should be in evidence here, as interns were already very likely to use available resources.

- o Amount of accurate career information. As a group, the interns should possess more accurate information, as this is an emphasis of the first ten weeks of the program.

- o Ability to plan for careers. Students applying to the program showed excellent ability for such planning; there should not be much change.

These are the criteria for judging the success of the first ten weeks of the program. In all cases, interns' scores were compared to those of control group members, who took the post-tests at the same time. For other criteria, such as intellectual growth or an increase in academic achievement, it is too early for assessment. These will be addressed later in this report.

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM EFFECTS ON PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and Rotter's Internal-External Control Scale data on which conclusions were drawn relative to program effects and personality characteristics may be found in Volume II which contains technical appendices.

Do Interns Feel More in Control of Their Lives?

By and large, interns do not appear to feel more in control of their lives, at least as measured by the instrument administered. However, it is unrealistic to expect change over so short a period. The degree of internal or external control possessed by interns is measured again before graduation.

Do Interns Become More Positive About Themselves in General and About Relations With Their Families?

As expected, interns as a group continued to have very positive feelings about themselves and about their families, although these feelings did not increase the first ten weeks. What is important here is that their self-esteem did not diminish. Interns do feel good about

themselves and remain convinced of their self-worth, a feeling the school helped them maintain.

While the strength of these positive feelings regarding families has not changed for the total group, it is likely that the nature of the relationship of the interns to family members has altered for the better, probably as a result of the success that these interns are experiencing in CIP. At the initial interviews conducted during the application process, a large majority of the parents expressed concern about their children's lack of success in school. For the most part, these concerns centered around the importance of a high school diploma, which parents believed their children would not recieve if they were not admitted to CIP. Both applicants and parents agreed that school problems often produced strains in the parent-child relationship. Parents now state that these strains and the concerns which generated them have largely disappeared, as the following composite statements illustrate:

> "All of a sudden my boy seem to like school... He wants a career...to be a salesman... He got himself a part-time job and...he's going to get his diploma"
>
> "I know what's happening now in school with my daughter...her counselor calls me once or twice a month... She is passing everything and going to class... Even when she was sick last week, and I wanted her to stay home she snuck out of the house to come to school... She is a changed person... maybe she can even go to college."
>
> "Before, my son was afraid to come to school... gangs on the corner kept bothering him...he didn't go too much...Now he goes every day...he going to graduate in June...he going to get a job."

For many families the Career Intern Program has helped to improve the relationship between parents and children. While this impact cannot be measured by any of the tests administered, it nevertheless seems to have been a positive effect of the program.

Does CIP Affect Interns' Perceptions of Their Relationships With Friends?

In one sense the program did not have any measurable effect during the early weeks on interns' perception of peer relationships. That is, interns continue to perceive their relationships in a positive light. As was the case with parental relationships, however, it is possible

that the nature of peer relationships has changed. In this sense, the program may be having a positive influence upon relationships among friends.

The CIP experience stresses group counseling techniques, so that interns with similar problems may, under the direction of a counselor, discuss their concerns and possible solution together. Furthermore, in their classroom activities, interns are urged to consider each other as possible learning resources, so that the career research performed by one often becomes the focus of discussion for an entire group. When interns function as both, the nature of peer relationships tends to change:

> "Group counseling is good for me...I come to know that other...students have the same problems as me... and we can help each other."[1]

> "The other day, in Mr. C_____'s class, Larry did a report on bein' a automobile mechanic...I learned a lot from him...I never knew they made such a lot of money...I learn from reports of other interns."

> "In my other school we had to learn everything from the teacher...Here though...we can learn from other people too...like each other...'Course the teacher's still important but...what I have to say in class is important too...Other people can learn something from me."

Based on these comments, it seems that the peer relationships of interns have broadened. While relationships are still positive, there is a qualitative difference for some interns.

Do Interns Feel Better About Themselves as Students?

Most data indicate that CIP has had a positive effect on the way interns feel about themselves as students. While students' scores on tests used to measure this dimension did not improve significantly, intern comments and comments made in counseling records suggest that after ten weeks in the program interns do think more highly of themselves as students. This shift in attitude may be attributed to a conscious attempt on the part of all CIP staff to convince interns that they are not failures and that

---

[1]All student quotes have been edited for grammar. Most students' everyday speech is typical of their area; observations suggest that some interns acquire a wider range of speech styles.

they can succeed in school. The concepts of individualized instruction, small classes, and frequent prolonged counseling sessions have paid dividends in this case, as the following composite statements by interns indicate:

> "I about flunked out of _____. I never got good grades, and I didn't like the teachers and they didn't like me...I was made to feel dumb...It's different here 'cause you get a feeling that people are your friends...they really care about you here...I'm starting to get some pretty good grades."
>
> "On my last report card from _____I only passed two subjects, and I only got a C in one and a D in the other. I never did real well in school. I come here and I started getting B's. I'm passing everything...People really care about me...I know I'm not stupid."
>
> "I could never do as well in school as my brother... and teachers always expected that I could do as good as him in school...they made me feel dumb... Well, here no one expects me to be anyone but me... I'm doing all right...I even got an A in a math test last week...I always used to fail math...it scared me."

That students find their academic self-image becoming more positive is further reinforced by the following entries, excerpted from counseling logs:

> "When Steve B___first came to see me he was extremely hostile toward me and toward the idea of school. He knew he needed a high school diploma to get a job as a lab assistant at _____, but he really didn't want to be just failure after failure...last year he only passed one subject...After three weeks he got his first marks at CIP, the results of two tests; he got a C in one and a B in the other...he actually smiled...It's now the last week of Career Awareness and during our regular session today, Steve said something like, 'I really don't think I'm so dumb after all."
>
> "Saw Janet _____ for the first time today, she's already thinking of leaving...asked her why...she says that she's not a good student and doesn't think she'll get passing grades, also says she doesn't read too well...I think I convinced her to stick it out for a few weeks...(Three weeks later.) Janet got a C

on her first test, she still isn't confident, but seems pleased with the grade...Have spoken to all of her teachers about her fear of failing...Mr. C_____ says that she really doesn't read badly but seems afraid...(Six weeks after first contact.) Janet got three test grades back this week, two C's and a B... She didn't say much about them, but she took the initiative in showing them to me and I let her know how pleased I was....She was also pleased, I could tell...(Seven weeks after first contact.) Janet is passing everything with at least a C...Today, she admitted that she's really not as bad a student as she had thought at first."

These entries, condensed versions of counseling records, illustrate the trend of student self perceptions in the area of academics. The movement from extreme negativism to at least cautious optimism is clear. Test scores did not show any significant improvement over the ten-week period. This could mean that ten weeks was too short a time to expect measurable growth, that the test may not have been appropriate, that the counseling records pick up more easily changed moods, and the tests more deeply rooted feelings, or response bias in either the notes or the test.

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM EFFECTS ON CAREER AWARENESS

The conclusions in this section are based on the Career Development Inventory of Super et al. These data may be found in Volume II.

Do Interns Show Any Increase in Their Tendency to Use Outside Resources?

As a group, interns did not demonstrate an increase in their tendency to use outside resources. This was expected, since they, as applicants, were already well above average in resource usage. However, neither did they show any decrease in this area. This is important, for it means that the program was able to maintain interest in a wide array of career resources.

While the resource use frequency did not change over time for the group as a whole, the type and quality did. Applicants to the program frequently cited as career resources teachers, family, friends, counselors, and very occasionally, books or articles. These may be described, for the most part, as secondary sources of information, because they do not involve first-hand

occupational experience. The resources most frequently cited by interns after ten weeks at CIP include more primary sources, such as people working in fields of interest to interns. While interns continue to mention teachers and counselors, they also cite such diverse sources as films, Department of Commerce job publications, and occupational encylopedias.

The educational program at CIP provides interns with an environment rich in career information, through a Resource Center stocked with easy-to-use and current career information, through Hands-On experiences which directly expose interns to the realities of work situations, through the constant use of classroom speakers, and finally, through incentives to learn from each other.

Is There Evidence of an Increase of Accurate Career Information?

Interns did not possess much accurate career information according to the Inventory. To assess whether or not during the first ten weeks interns increased the amount of career information they possessed, two data collection strategies were employed: a readministration of the initial career information test, and frequent observations of classes. Data from these two sources will be discussed separately.

Data From the Career Information Test. Results of re-administering the Inventory did not indicate significant gains in this area. This does not necessarily mean that interns did not have more accurate career information; it merely indicates that interns did not make gains on this particular test. There are two possible explanations for this:

- Perhaps the reading level of the test was too demanding for most of the interns.
- Perhaps there was a lack of "fit" between the emphasis of the test and the curriculum.

To help interpret the interns' lack of growth as measured by the tests, these two explanations were explored further.

Was the Reading Level of the Test Too Demanding for Most Interns?

The average reading level for CIP applicants was about seventh grade; several interns read at much higher levels.

Analysis of the pre-test data revealed a significant relationship between reading ability and the possession of career information. Good readers were more likely to score higher on this test than poor readers. For the former, the reading level of the test was probably not too difficult. The only other question is whether or not they had already scored so high on the pre-test that little room for growth was possible. Analysis of the pre-test scores of the good readers reveals this is not the case. While good readers did score higher than poor readers, they still had room for substantial improvement.

Although the reading level was not a problem for good readers, it may have been too demanding for poor readers. To test this hypothesis, an analysis was performed which took reading levels into account by holding them constant. This analysis revealed no significant gain with reading level controlled. Thus, lack of gain on the career information test cannot be attributed to poor reading ability.

Was There a Lack of Fit Between Curriculum Content and Contents of the Test? The test used to measure acquisition of career knowledge does not stress career-specific information. That is, it does not assess whether or not those taking the test are cognizant of discrete factors pertaining to particular careers. Rather, the test emphasizes the fit between certain personality traits and the psychological demands of given careers. Examples of actual test items are presented below:

> "Peter is the best speaker on the school debating team. The school yearbook describes his as 'our golden-tongued orator'...Peter will probably graduate in the bottom half of his class, although his test scores show that he is very bright. His only good grades (mostly B's) are in business subjects... The facts about Peter suggest that he should think about becoming: an accountant, a salesman, an actor, a school counselor, a lawyer."
>
> "Jane likes her high school biology and general science courses best. She likes to do her schoolwork alone so she can concentrate. When she begins to think about her future occupation, she should consider: nurse, accountant, medical laboratory technician, elementary school teacher."

One could argue that the fit between the scholastic aptitudes described in the test and the occupations listed as choices is imperfect. Even if the match-up were perfect,

however, the test does not reflect the major theme of the Career Awareness curriculum, which is based almost entirely upon the concept of "career clusters," or groups of interrelated careers, such as medical professions, service occupations, and technical occupations. During the course of the Career Awareness cycle, interns are exposed to a single cluster per week. Each intern is required to pursue one career in depth every week and present oral and written reports to the rest of the class. In all, each intern is required to prepare at least seven reports on different careers. By and large in these reports, interns tend to focus upon the following:

- Availability of a given career in the job market.
- Salary ranges of a particular career.
- Type and amount of education required to pursue a given career.

The CIP curriculum, then, emphasizes the mastery of information in relation to specific careers. It does not dwell during the ten weeks under discussion here upon fit between personality traits and general types of occupations, though this kind of emphasis does occur later in the program.

Conclusion. The curriculum utilized to teach career information and the test used to measure it seem mismatched for the first ten weeks; the match will be better for CIP as a whole.

What Do the Classroom Observations Reveal? Interns were exposed to a great deal about careers from Career Awareness. The seven required reports are the foci for discussions of various careers. Classroom observations reveal that, for the most part, these reports tend to be completed on time; that interns seem to understand their content; and that most classes actively participate in discussing each of the reports. The contention that interns learned about specific careers is substantiated by the following comments, solicited from a random sample of interns both during and immediately after the first ten weeks:

> "When I came here I didn't know what I wanted to do... I didn't know about the field of communications... Now I'm seriously thinking about a career in this field."
>
> "I came in (to CIP)...wanting to be a nurse...I didn't know how much education I'd have to get... Now I think I'll be a secretary, 'cause they make good money. I can get a job and won't have to have

any more school."

"I always liked science, but didn't know what to do with it...I learned about medical technology since I came, and it sounds like what I want."

"I learned so much about lots of careers that I have been able to choose one that most interests me...I'm seriously thinking of going to college to be an accountant."

In defending her choice of a career in the field of medical technology, Jane states: "I have four reasons for wanting to be a medical technician. It will pay me about $6,800 a year right after training, which is about what I need to support my daughter and me. I can leave my baby in the daycare center at the hospital and it won't cost me too much. I can finish most of the science courses I need (to get accepted into the program) this year. The hospital will train me and will pay me a little while I'm training. Also, it's a career where I'll have a chance to help people and keep learning new things."

Quincy decided he did not need a high school diploma, "because I learned a lot about the field of carpentry during Career Awareness, and I am going to start on-the-job training after two months. I can get my union card after about a year, and I can make pretty good bread. After six years or so I can make about $13,000 or more. Besides, I always like to build things, I like to be outdoors. It's a pretty good career for me, and people always need carpenters."

Dierdre feels she will go to college, because "during Career Awareness I got to spend a few days helping an elementary school teacher in the classroom and decided that this is the job for me. I always liked kids, especially young ones, and I've been doing very well since I came here (to CIP). I think I will be able to get into college, and Ms. R (her counselor) thinks she can help me get a scholarship. Anyway, the money you get for teaching is pretty good, the fringe benefits are good, and probably I'll be always about to get a job."

Frank entered the project feeling that "I don't know what I want to do. I never thought much about it, but I know I'll need a high school diploma, so I came here." Now he has decided he would like to enter the field of communications. "See, during the Career Awareness, I think it was during the

third or fourth week, I did research in communications."

These quotes, while not conclusive, do represent the trend of intern opinion regarding the first ten weeks of their experiences in the Career Intern Program. They suggest the interns have picked up career information important to them, enough information in most instances to permit them to make some sort of realistic career decision.

The first weeks culminate in a document called a Career Development Plan. This plan, completed by counselors working with each intern, lists the career choice of the intern, plus an accompaning series of steps by which the intern will attain a chosen career. In providing input to their Career Development Plans, interns are urged to draw upon all they have learned in the Career Seminar.

These plans are not an absolute indicator of mastery of career information. Yet, to a certain degree, the quality of such plans reflects both the degree of understanding interns have of the career they have chosen and the quality of thought that has gone into the making of such decisions.

> "I worked at W____ (a local radio station) for a few days and really got into it. I want to either be a broadcast engineer or maybe go into being a disc jockey. I don't have to decide yet, because I can decide exactly what I want to do when I get to broadcasting school, where I've already been accepted. I know I can make at least $8,000 or $10,000 a year, and the future is good. I can even move around the country if I want."

The examples cited in this section are representative of most interns in the program and suggest that the early weeks are fruitful in enabling them to explore several careers, to select those which appealed most to them, and to make some plans for pursuing careers of their choice.

Do Interns Increase Their Ability to Plan for Careers?

Because applicants had demonstrated excellent ability in career planning, no change was anticipated for interns as a group after ten weeks. Therefore, it is surprising to find that the intern group did improve considerably in their ability to make comprehensive career plans, in

comparison to the control group, whose abilities did not increase.

The term "career planning" as used in this context refers to the ability to integrate facts about given careers, relate these facts to various situations which apply to the interns' lives, and synthesize all this information into an appropriate long-range career plan. Interns who took the test measuring planning ability were asked to indicate what action they had taken with regard to such statements as:

> "Finding out about educational and occupational possibilities by going to the library, sending away for information, or talking to somebody who knows about the possibilities."
>
> "Dealing with things which might make it hard for me to get the kind of training or the kind of work I would like."
>
> "Doing the things one needs to do to become a valued employee who doesn't have to be afraid of losing his job or being laid off when times are hard."

Throughout the early weeks of the program, the teachers and counselors stress the importance of creating Career Development Plans. The emphasis placed by the CIP staff upon such plans is at least partially responsible for the increase in career planning ability. This seems particularly likely in light of the fact that from the outset of their involvement with the program, interns are constantly confronted by both counselors and teachers with questions and suggestions relating to individual career choices.

IN SUMMARY

This section has presented several effects or "outcomes" of the first ten weeks of the Career Intern Program. It has made the following points:

- On the instrument used to measure internal/external control, interns did not move toward internal control over the ten-week period, although it is probably too early to expect such changes.
- Interns continue to feel very positive about themselves in general, and about their relationships to their families; and the nature of family relationships has improved.

- The relationships interns have with their friends continue to be viewed very positively, and for many interns the nature of such relationships has considerably broadened.

- Interns have higher opinions of themselves as students than when they first applied to CIP.

- The types of career resources used by interns broadened considerably, and the frequency with which they used such resources remained quite high.

- Interns did not demonstrate through testing any gains in the amount of accurate career information they possess.

- On measures other than the test for career information, such as intern interviews, classroom observations, and Career Development Plans, interns showed understanding of specific careers of interest, and a grasp of the steps necessary to obtain these careers.

- Despite the fact that improvement in career planning ability was not anticipated, interns as a group did demonstrate, after the first ten, a marked gain in planning ability over their already high levels.

These data suggest that even early in the program, the interns are on their way to the diploma so many want, and to acquiring the preparation they'll need to succeed later. Along the way, some will falter. Some will surpass even their own hopes. Others will progress, but not excell. The next chapters pick up the study seven months later.

CHAPTER SIX

RETENTION, COMPLETION, AND DROPOUTS

Before entering CIP, as Table XII shows, about 50% of the applicants had either left school (32%) or attended so infrequently they were dropouts in all but the formal record (17%). The controls were more likely to have dropped out (40%) or to be irregular attenders if enrolled (35%).

TABLE XII: WHAT WERE YOU DOING BEFORE CIP? STATUS OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS AT THE TIME OF APPLICATION

	INTERNS*	CONTROLS
	N=286	N=145
Enrolled, sometimes attending	51%	35%
Enrolled, not attending	17%	25%
Not in school	32%	40%

*Interns who enrolled; "decliners" excluded.

The difference seems due to the fact that one could decline--if chosen--to enroll in CIP but could not "decline" from the control group. Most of the 37 youth who were selected in the lottery to attend CIP but declined to attend were dropouts or irregular attenders. Had these 37 youth been included, the groups would have been more similar in proportion.

In both groups, many applicants had been out of school for more than six months (18%); some had been out of school for over a year. Both experimentals and control groups were high risk: already losers, the likelihood of their getting a diploma might seem small.

Completion

As Table XIII shows, in winter 1975-76, only 7% of the 145 youth who had completed the pre-enrollment procedures for CIP but were, by lottery, not selected for enrollment, had completed high school. Of the 286 youth who had been selected at random from the same applicant pool, 44% had received their high school diploma. This difference is statistically reliable; it seems large enough to be educationally significant.

TABLE XIII: RETENTION, COMPLETION, AND DROPOUTS AMONG INTERNS AND CONTROLS AS OF DECEMBER 1975

	INTERNS*	CONTROLS
	N=286	N=145
Enrolled in CIP or School	13%	3%
Transferred, still in school	10%	3%
Were in School-Dropped out	33%	38%
Out of School-Did not re-enter	-	49%
Graduated	44%	7%

*Interns who enrolled; "decliners" excluded

Dropouts

As Table XIII indicates, in December 1975, 33% of the interns who enrolled in CIP were no longer in school. They had dropped out of the program before graduating. In comparison, 86% of the controls were dropouts: 38% had been in school, but left and 49% were out of school and did not re-enter.

Perhaps more than any other figures, the difference between 33% (CIP) and 86% (controls) who were dropouts in winter 1975-76, versus 57% graduates or enrolled (CIP) and 13% graduates or enrolled (controls) represents the impact of CIP participation. Without CIP, only 1 out of 10 youth chosen at random from applicants was likely to be in school or to have graduated a year after application to the program. With CIP, 6 out of 10 youth were graduates or still in school, working toward their high school diploma.

Retention

In December 1975, 6% of the controls and 23% of the interns were still enrolled in school. Of these, 3% and 10%, respectively, had transferred to schools other than the one in which they were enrolled at time of application. The retention rates in CIP - for the program or for another school - are greater than for the comparison programs.

Too Good To Be True?

One explanation of this difference is that some of CIP's "dropouts" had dropped before enrollment, leaving the least dropout prone in the intern group and the most dropout prone in the controls. There are two possibilities. Suppose first that CIP had proportionately less "enrolled but not attending youth" and CIP had proportionately few "long term dropouts." Then suppose the "enrolled but not attending" youth and the "long term dropouts" were more likely to be out-of-school at the time of post-testing, regardless of entry or not into CIP. If this were so, the lower CIP dropout rate might be little more than an artifact of pre-selection of a lower risk group.

Attendance Status and Retention

First, Table XIV shows that CIP did have proportionately fewer youth who were nominally enrolled but not attending school at time of application to CIP. About 40% of the controls but only 25% of the interns who were even nominally enrolled were "enrolled but not attending" at time of application.

TABLE XIV: DROPOUT RATE FOR NOMINALLY ENROLLED ATTENDING AND NON-ATTENDING CIP AND CONTROL STUDENTS

GROUP	ATTENDANCE STATUS AT APPLICATION	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS	PERCENTAGE OF DROPOUTS
CIP	Enrolled/attending	151	38	25%
	Enrolled/not attending	49	15	31%
	Total	200	53	26%
Control	Enrolled/attending	51	21	41%
	Enrolled/not attending	36	25	69%
	Total	87	56	64% (overall)

Second, Table XIV shows that the dropout rate is related to attendance status: youth "enrolled and attending" at time of application in both intern and control groups are somewhat less likely to drop out. The retention rate gain in CIP is, however, about the less for attendees than for non-attendees. For attendees, the difference in dropoutism is 16% (41%, controls minus 25% interns). The difference for non-attenders is 38% (69%, controls versus 31% interns). Thus, the absolute level of dropping out

and size of difference between intern and control groups is affected by the proportion of attenders and non-attenders in the two groups. The bias, in this case, works in favor of finding that CIP is better. The total raw dropout reduction gain for CIP (64%, controls minus 26% interns) is 38%. A total giving equal weight to attenders and non-attenders would be 27% (55% controls minus 28% interns.)

At least some of the much higher dropout rate for controls is an artifact of having a disproportionately high number of "enrolled but not attending" youth.

Time Out of School and Dropping Out Again: Among youth who had dropped out at time of application, fewer controls (48%) than interns (63%) had been out of school for seven months or more at time of application to CIP. Suppose long-term dropouts were more serious about a second chance, and with or without CIP would be likely to be in school a year later?

Tables XV and XVI suggest that of anything, the reverse is true.

TABLE XV: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF SCHOOL FOR DROPOUTS AND THE CIP DROPOUT RATE

	MONTHS OUT OF SCHOOL AT TIME OF APPLICATION TO CIP	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF CIP DROPOUTS	PERCENT CIP DROPOUTS
CIP	(0 - 3)	21	7	33%
	(4 - 6)	22	5	23%
	(7 -12)	23	14	61%
	(12 +)	29	14	48%
	Total	95	40	(overall) 42%

TABLE XVI: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF SCHOOL FOR DROPOUTS IN THE CONTROL POPULATION AND THE RATE OF LATER RETURN TO SCHOOL

	MONTHS OUT OF SCHOOL AT TIME OF APPLICATION TO CIP	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER NOT RETURNING TO SCHOOL	PERCENT NOT RETURNING
CONTROL	(0 - 3)	16	10	63%
	(4 - 6)	14	13	93%
	(7 -12)	9	7	78%
	(12 +)	19	19	100%
	Total	58	49	(overall) 84%

The difference in dropouts between interns and controls is 50% (78%, controls minus 28% interns) when the subgroups of applicants out of school six months or less are weighted equally. The difference between interns and controls is 34% (89%, controls minus 55% interns) when subgroups of applicants out of school for seven months or longer are weighted equally. Youth out of school less than six months if anything are more likely <u>not</u> to drop out of CIP.

There is still a third possibility of artifact. As Table XVII shows, more of the total control group (40%) than of the total intern of group (32%) had dropped out at time of enrollment. Dropouts in both CIP and control groups <u>were</u> less likely to be in school a year later than were youth who were enrolled. When subgroups are given equal weight, 65% of the controls but only 33% of the interns were out of school a year after application to CIP, a 32% difference favoring CIP.

TABLE XVII: DROPOUT RATE FOR ATTENDING, ENROLLED BUT NOT ATTENDING AND NOT ENROLLED YOUTH

GROUP	STATUS AT TIME OF APPLICATION	NUMBER	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS[1]	PERCENT OF DROPOUTS
CIP	Enrolled/attending	151	38	25%
	Enrolled/not attending	49	15	31%
	Not enrolled (dropout)	95	40	42%
	Total	295	93	31%
Control	Enrolled/attending	51	21	41%
	Enrolled/not attending	36	25	69%
	Not enrolled (dropout)	58	49	84%
	Total	145	95	65%

[1]Controls not enrolled in school as of winter 1975-76

Tables XII through XVII permit at least five generalizations:

1. The longer a youth has been away from school, the more likely she or he is to drop out, if enrolled, or not to return at all to school.

2. The weaker the tie to school at time of CIP application, whether from not attending when nominally enrolled or from having already dropped out, the more likely the youth is to drop out, if nominally enrolled, or not to return to school.

3. The same relationships between risk of dropping out or not returning is found for CIP students and controls. The relationships in both cases are linear.

4. However, in every instance, controls were much more likely to dropout than were interns.

5. The greater the risk of dropping out, the greater the risk of CIP in increasing retention.

These data suggest that the much higher retention and completion rates, and lower dropout rates of CIP interns are reliable findings. They are not simply artifacts of the initial differences in status at time of application of enrolled interns and controls.

DROPOUT PREVENTION

If the findings were reliable,---CIP prevents dropouts and enables high risk youth to complete school---then several other lessons may be learned.

1. Prevention is easier than cure: The CIP retention rate of youth enrolled in school was about 73% versus about 58% for youth who had dropped out before entry. This difference---considering the cost and effort of the CIP program---might argue for a focus on high risk youths who have not formally dropped out. An alternative would be examining more closely the reasons why CIP interns who were dropouts to begin with dropped out again. Perhaps their problems are too severe for CIP, however changed, to resolve. Perhaps, however, the program could be better adapted to their needs.

2. Attendance, while still enrolled in regular high school, doesn't make that much predictive difference. The CIP dropout rate for youth who did not attend classes in regular high school while nominally enrolled was 31%, only slightly higher than for youth who attended high school regularly. There seems to be little need to either pre-select only those with regular attendance or to modify the program radically to better meet the needs of

youth who were likely merely to be carried on the regular school rolls: CIP is doing well by both groups relative to control dropout rates, and especially well for the nominally enrolled category.

3. The sooner the better: After a youth has formally left school, retention decreases as time out of school increases. Helping dropout re-enroll during the first six months of school will double the "success rate" in contrast to waiting until seven months or more have passed.

Who Leaves?

Three hunches were examined:

- dropouts from CIP have severe financial problems or extensive family responsibilities; they simply can't afford to return to high school

- dropouts from CIP had such serious academic deficits in basic skills they could just not keep up.

- dropouts from CIP had personality or adjustment problems beyond the capacity of CIP to help.

Summarizing The Evidence Briefly, None Of The Above Was Responsible

- While dropouts, like many successful interns, did have financial problems and family responsibilities, this was not the primary reason for dropping out. Indeed, CIP arranged for paid employment for which Hands-On credit was given to help some interns stay in school.

- Dropouts, like many successful interns, did have serious deficiencies in basic skills. On the average, however, their abilities and general achievement levels were typical of those of successful interns.

- In feelings and attitudes as measured by the tests, dropouts looked very much like successful interns. There was nothing in the measures suggesting severe personality disorders.

Clues From Interviews And Observations

One characteristic of four interns[1] who later dropped out of CIP is the lack of contact with their counselors. Successful interns saw their counselors at least once a week. Many made a point to stop by and say hello everyday. By contrast, three of the intern dropouts, at the time of the initial interview, had not met with their counselors and did not know their names. Since each intern is regularly scheduled to meet with the counselor, this means that they had either been absent from school every single time their counseling session was scheduled or had failed to keep the appointments. The fourth intern had been sought out by her counselor so he could talk with her about her poor attendance.

In contrast with the successful interns, these four also showed less interest and personal interaction with their instructors. One, for example, didn't know the name of her typing teacher; another knew the name of one of her teachers but not what subject he taught.

All four, as early as the first round of interviews, had been flagged by teachers and counselors as poor attenders. When asked about their attendance, two said they lived a considerable distance from the school and had to take public transportation. The other two disputed the attendance figures of the counselors, insisting that they came regularly.

In the matter of career aspirations, all four exhibited a surprising incongruity. All of them set their sights on a prestigious career goal that required a college education: two wanted to go into law and a third planned to be a registered nurse because it would pay well.

> "My aunt, she's not a nurse, she's a nurse's aide and like I asked her what was the highest nurse. She said registered nurse they pay the most money and, like you know, since I was going to get into nursing I might as well be a registered nurse and go longer."

---

[1] Twelve CIP interns were randomly chosen at enrollment for intensive study; four of these later dropped out.

The fourth had no clear career plans beyond going into communications because he would like to make movies. In fact, he claims that making future plans is futile, and the only way to live is from day to day. However, he insisted that he wanted to go to college and was worried that he couldn't meet a foreign language requirement.

The incongruity lies between these aspirations and the fact that none of them expressed much interest in the career preparation focus of the program. They wanted to get into prestigious, high paying careers. None had, or appeared willing, to examine the congruity between their actions and career choices.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of these interns who later dropped (or were dropped from the program) was their concern that it was not "traditional" enough. Two complained that there were not enough extracurricular activities. One complained that the program was too small. Another found the individual attention disconcerting. She characterized herself as bashful and found it hard to recite when called upon in class as she was virtually every day. (Closer investigation revealed that she had a serious reading problem and this probably contributed to her discomfort.) One of the male interns was very unhappy with his history class because it dealt too much with contemporary problems and with self exploration. He wanted to study "traditional" history. (This, incidently, was the most popular class in the program for successful interns.)

With respect to demographic characteristics, these four interns appeared to represent a fairly typical cross section. There were two males and two females; two were high school dropouts and two were enrolled non-attenders. While there was nothing on their intake interview or in the results of the intake test scores to set those interns apart, two were characterized by teachers as being above average in intelligence--just not working up to their potential.

In contast, one intern who graduated from CIP, who had tried other alternative schools in the city, describes how the CIP strikes a balance between the "free" model and the traditional high school and why she found that balance appropriate for her needs:

> "I realized I should really go to school--at least finish something, you know, so I had heard about a couple of different alternative schools. One called, like,--it's near (a university). Like a church. I walked into that place and it was like these people

sitting around eating salad. You know, they were kind of having a class. Sitting there eating salad. Just kind of sitting there. They were playing guitars, you know. I thought, "I've had enought of this kind of stuff." Meanwhile, this truant officer was coming to our house everyday. Then someone walks up on my porch and I opened the door, and he says, "I'm from UCEC." And I said, "What?" So then I came and I took all these crazy tests, and this place had, like, the right amount of alternative and the right amount of school in it for me."

Clues From Case Studies

Dropouts set extremely high initial career goals. These goals were advanced because they offer high income or prestige. These interns had no clear ideas as to how these career goals could be realized. They failed to establish close relationships with their instructors--in some cases they didn't even know their names after several weeks. They didn't keep counseling appointments and never sought counselors out on their own. They chafed under the non-traditional nature of the program--wanting more extra-curricular activities and more electives. They felt the classes were too small and consequently drew too much attention to each intern. A few--although this was by no means typical--had serious reading problems which they didn't want to admit.

It is difficult to generalize about the kinds of students for whom the CIP does not work. However, two conclusions appear justified. First, students who are not as interested in getting into practical careers and who want a diploma quickly will have problems with the CIP. Second, students who want a "school" in the traditional sense of the word, that is, a program that stresses traditional academic courses and provides a full set of extra-curricular activites, may find it difficult to fit into CIP.

These are, in general, subtle mismatches of person and program. Perhaps if a general pattern of wanting a great deal of quick, easy success were recognized early, more intensive personal counseling could help these youth.

To put this another way, a large number of minority students "fall through the mesh" of the public schools. CIP provides a program with a "finer mesh" that holds a significant number of these dropouts. A minority, however, still drop through. Those who are held are the ones for whom the individualized attention and practical focus on career preparation meet needs not met by the traditional schools. Those who are lost are the ones whose needs are neither met by the public school system nor by the one-to-one, occupationally oriented feature of the CIP.

In summary, then, nine months later almost two thirds of the applicants who chose to enroll were in school or had graduated. In comparison, only about fifteen percent of the controls--applicants who were not selected in the lottery - were in school or had graduated.

Analyses of subgroups of interns and controls suggest this striking difference is real. It's not an artifact of initial enrollment differences; it is due to something that happens in CIP that is not happening to most youth.

The next sections report what else happened to CIP interns in contrast to the controls. If all that happened was that interns received a diploma, this might better their life chances--but not as much as if the diploma stood for other changes, in their academic ability, their attitudes and their career development.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DOES IT WORK? ARE THE INTERNS BETTER STUDENTS?

Being a better student involves changing behavior and improved achievement. Before CIP; sixty percent of the interns were dropouts by withdrawal or fiat. Many of the remaining forty percent attended irregularly at best. With regard to basic skills, only one in ten could do as well in mathematics and reading as an average tenth grade student.

Two ways of answering the question, "are they better students" are presented. The first way is unobtrusive measures of behavior, particularly behaviors related to the nature and quality of interns' participation in school. The second way is analysis of changes in achievement test performance.

PARTICIPATING: SOME GOOD NEWS AND SOME BAD NEWS

Most of the data on participation come from the field evaluation, observations and interviews.

The good news...

1. Attendance: Poor attendance had been a problem for almost all of the applicants to the program. The CIP set strict attendance requirements. In order to pass any course an intern had to maintain a seventy percent attendance rate. Only a small minority failed to meet these standards.

2. Keeping Appointments: Keeping appointments was another problem for many interns. Often, when they finally could get an appointment with their counselors or teachers in the feeder schools, they would show up late, or not at all.

At the CIP, interns are expected to meet with their counselors once a week and many drop in every day. The small classes make it impossible for interns to avoid a good deal of interaction with instructors. Most learned to show up, and show up on time for their classes, their scheduled meetings, or special appointments.

3. Rescheduling Appointments: Almost as important, they learned to call ahead to cancel an appointment and reschedule if they knew this would be necessary. They learned how to handle the unexpected responsibly rather than just not showing up.

4. Completing Assignments: Completing assignments was a fourth area of behavioral change. On entering CIP, many interns would turn in assignments late or poorly done, if they turned them in at all. Assigning homework, presentations, reports or papers was chancy. Perhaps one of the more dramatic changes observed was the gradual shift from chance to reliability. By graduation, most interns could be counted on to complete work assigned to them, and to prepare responsibly for presentations, group projects or research reports where they themselves had set the due dates.

5. Test-taking Skills: Interns have learned how to take exams. Observations of applicant behavior during testing before and after CIP were consistent with classroom observations and self-reports. In comparison to control students who were not enrolled in CIP, interns learned to listen to instructions, to ask for relevant information, and to use the time available in a task-oriented way.

One interpretation might be that the interns knew how to do this all along, and the controls were simply less motivated to perform well during testing. Observations suggest this is not the entire explanation. First, at pre-testing, almost all of the applicants who took the tests seemed highly motivated. They knew a very low score on the achievement test would mean losing their chance in the lottery. Yet, changes in test-taking behavior pre and post for those selected as interns were clear. Also, while some control group members may have been going through the motions at post-testing, most did not seem to the observers unconcerned with their performance. All control group members received individual feedback and interpretation of their results. Curiosity about how they themselves changed from pre to post testing probably was motivating, although some lack of enthusiasm may have accounted for the lack of improvement in controls.

6. Working Together: Working together and taking the initiative in seeking out resources increased during CIP. Interns learned to work cooperatively on assignments, projects and special activities. The skills of using each other as resources, learning to seek out the academically relevant talents in friends, and organizing for accomplishment are talents not every adult---even adults from advantaged backgrounds---has. The skills observed built on the friendships among interns, but involved know-how rather than only a willingness to work together.

7. Initiative: With regard to taking initiative, on entering CIP, interns often would state that the reason they did not complete assignments on time was that no one gave them the materials or came to them. It was an attitude of "bring it to me." Over the year, most interns grew to see it as their responsibility to find the book, to get the materials, to make the first telephone call. Not every intern became a self-starter, or knew how to locate resources beyond those readily available. Many, however, showed that they knew where to go outside of OIC and the neighborhood, and could draw their own road maps of how to locate speakers, arrange for interviews, and obtain brochures, catalogs, reports and forms.

8. Attention to Classwork: Participation in class changed in two ways. First, many students who were just sitting there, often reclining or with their heads on the desks, sat up and started talking. Instead of speaking only when asked (and sometimes not even then) they would initiate discussions. Second, some students who were continually interrupting the class with often irrelevant comments learned to channel their energies more constructively. They were far from squelched, but were less likely to dominate the discussion and more likely to contribute to it.

9. Willingness to Repeat Failed Courses: One of the reasons why students contemplate dropping out of school is the discouragement that comes from having to repeat courses. With the perceived emphasis in most schools on covering material rather than on increasing proficiency, students see little value in repeating courses which they have already taken. Being forced to repeat can be demoralizing.

Successful CIP interns are willing to repeat courses they have failed or to review material they have already studied. The reasons for this probably include the fact that they are constantly reminded of the direct relevance of academic achievement to the attainment of career goals, the trusting relationships they have developed with instructors, the attempts to make courses interesting and the short CIP semesters.

o Diane's position is that CIP is an opportunity to take advantage of the chance to learn. She is not afraid of falling into the endless cycle of repetition. In fact, according to her English instructor, Diane goes even further:

> "Even when assignments she has been given have been done, she invariably comes to me to ask for more work.

And of course her concern does not seem to be that of just trying to be impressive. I think she seems genuinely concerned about work...

- By contrast, a comparison student, Carol, is in her fourth year in high school. She is in the 11th grade for the third time. She admits to thinking about dropping out.

"I'm tired of coming for nothin'. The same thing over...my sister says I shouldn't stay. She says the more I stay here the dumber I'm getting'...I had this stuff before...like my math and history I had last year."

Furthermore, when asked about her career ambitions, she bitterly replied that the way it looked to her she'd never get out of 11th grade.

10. Seriousness About School Work: Many interns said they dropped out of school or stopped attending because they were bored, and lacked interest. The reasons are varied, including the discouragement over failure or the perceived irrelevance of school to life goals. For a large number, faced with the necessity of contributing to their own support, school activities took second place to working. One control group member contends she cut classes right before she quit (..,"I used to cut so I can go to work, you know, try to get in there early... I had lost interest in going to school.") Whatever the reasons for the loss of interest in school work, when asked how they think their school experience would have been different if they had been admitted to CIP, most controls said that they felt they would have become more interested in school and that they would have tried harder to do the work.

CIP interns showed a marked increase in interest in school. They began to look at the experience as a chance to improve themselves or to prove to themselves that they could do well in school. This increased interest manifests itself in a willingness to work hard, do assignments and to seek extra practice activities. Often, extra effort led to an increase in basic skills. Tammy, who showed much improvement in writing, talks about her school work.

"I don't mind the work, 'cause some of the words, I mean, I never heard of them, and I get to know the meaning, the spelling...everything. We don't have that much homework, we do so much classwork and tests and stuff."

These behaviors indicate acquisition of important school

skills that were largely lacking when the interns entered CIP.

The bad news...

There is some bad news. Most CIP interns made great strides in improving their academic behavior. Relative to control and comparison youth, their participation in school showed development of habits needed in both further schooling and in work.

In an absolute sense, however, many interns have a way to go before their academic style would be self-sustaining.

1. Attendance: Although almost all interns met the standard, maintaining the 70% minimum attendance required constant monitoring and encouragement for many interns. Considerable staff effort---including driving to local hangouts to locate absent interns---went into keeping attendance high. Some interns were neither absent nor late for a year or more. This tended to be, however, more a carry-over from previous good habits than a turn-around. The pattern was progress toward self-generated improvement in attendance, rather than its attainment.

2. Standards of Excellence: Less than best effort and repeated extension of due dates were frequent. Interns often did the minimum required to get by and often had excuses for not turning in work exactly on time. Internal pride and high internal standards of excellence were developing, rather than being fully developed.

READING AND MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT: SOME BAD NEWS AND SOME GOOD NEWS

Reading and mathematics achievement scores are shown in Tables XVIII and XIX. These are pre and post scores for all interns and controls of whom pre and post scores are available. Raw scores and scores corrected for guessing both are given. (See also technical appendices in Vol. II)

Seven conclusions can be drawn from these data: some are bad news and some, good news.

The bad news...

1. Brighter students dropped out or finished so early their post-tests weren't available. The average pre

TABLE XVIII
READING ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS[1]

MEASURE	N		DISTRIBUTION Pre	DISTRIBUTION Post[3]
Reading Achievement (Interns)	88	Low	39%	27%
		Middle	46%	43%
		High	15%	30%
Mean Score			34	37
Grade Equivalent			7.2	7.7
Reading Achievement (Controls)	55	Low	44%	34%
		Middle	38%	41%
		High	18%	25%
Mean Score			33	33
Grade Equivalent			7.0	7.0
Reading (Corrected)[2] Achievement (Interns)	88	Low	37%	32%
		Middle	44%	40%
		High	19%	28%
Mean Score			28	31
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA
Reading (Corrected) Achievement (Controls)	55	Low	40%	53%
		Middle	45%	24%
		High	15%	24%
Mean Score			28	24
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA

[1]Stanford Reading and Mathematics Achievement Tests

[2]Corrected for guessing. (See Volume II)

[3]Average time between pre and post testing was eight months.

TABLE XIX
MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS[1]

MEASURE	N		DISTRIBUTION Pre	DISTRIBUTION Post[3]
Math Achievement (Interns)	86	Low	19%	13%
		Middle	67%	63%
		High	14%	24%
Mean Score			19	20
Grade Equivalent			7.3	7.7
Math Achievement (Controls)	54	Low	22%	30%
		Middle	58%	54%
		High	20%	16%
Mean Score			18	17
Grade Equivalent			7.0	6.9
Math (Corrected)[2] Achievement (Interns)	86	Low	24%	17%
		Middle	58%	50%
		High	18%	33%
Mean Score			14	16
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA
Math (Corrected) Achievement (Controls)	54	Low	26%	39%
		Middle	48%	35%
		High	26%	26%
Mean Score			14	12
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA

[1]Stanford Reading and Mathematics Achievement Tests

[2]Corrected for guessing. (See Volume II)

[3]Average time between pre and post testing was eight months.

scores for the pre/post groups are lower than for the group of all applicants.

2. The final levels achieved by both interns and controls are still far below the national averages. The average grade equivalent final scores on reading and mathematics for the interns was 7.7 and 7.7, respectively; for the controls, 7.0 and 6.9, respectively. Whatever the gains--and their were some substantial improvements--there is no blinking away the fact that many of the interns still have a lot of work to do before their basic skills reach levels offering much hope for postsecondary success in life, education and work.

The good news...

1. The interns have begun improvements that are statistically and educationally significant.

2. In reading, interns gained five academic months (7.2 average pre to 7.7 post) in an average of eight months in CIP. In mathematics, their gain was from 7.3 to 7.7. In comparison, the average scores of the control students did not change. Figures 1 and 2 show this effect.

3. Eighth grade reading level is about the minimum required for most skilled trades work. Before entering CIP, about 70% of the applicants were performing below this level. At post-testing, as Table XIX shows, about 70% of the control students were still performing below this minimum. In contrast, in reading and mathematics, the CIP percentage below the minimum had dropped to about 58%.

TABLE XX READING AND MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT: PERCENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS PERFORMING BELOW THE EIGHTH GRADE LEVEL

MEASURE		N	Pre	Post
Reading	Intern	88	73%	58%
	Control	55	69%	69%
Math	Intern	86	63%	57%
	Control	55	69%	70%

4. If the percent of students performing at less than the 6th grade level is considered, about twice as many controls as interns were performing at extremely low levels in mathematics at post-testing (30% controls; 13% interns). In reading, 34% of the controls and 27% of the interns were below 6th grade levels at post-testing.

5. Controls were more likely to guess than interns. The raw scores do not contain a correction for guessing. If the correction is applied, the performance of interns on reading and mathematics again shows a reliable increase while the performance of controls decreases, a pattern consistent with the progressive decline in achievement reported for many low income children who do not attend special programs. The correction for guessing has decreased control scores much more markedly for reading than for mathematics.

The conclusion: not attending a program such as CIP is bad news, if one hopes that youth with basic skills far below levels needed for further education or work will improve even without CIP. Attending CIP leads to improvement in both mathematics and reading: a five months'gain in eight months'in reading and a four months' gain in mathematics compared to no gain in this time for controls. If the students can build on this start and continue to develop their skills, their post-CIP chances will be fairly bright. For about 40% of the interns, however, further remedial work will be necessary even to enter vocational/technical occupations. For about 85% of the interns, remedial work would be needed to reach 12th grade levels needed for regular work.

GENERAL REASONING ABILITY

As a group, CIP applicants were within the average range in their ability to solve non-verbal reasoning problems. It was not a deliberate goal of the program to increase this ability. Thus, changes in general reasoning were not expected. It was hoped that both interns and controls would do as well on the post-test as at the time of application. Table XXI shows a surprise. The performance of control students stayed about the same; performance of interns increased (See Volume II for distributions). The increase is statistically reliable, although educationally marginal in absolute size. Interestingly, the greatest gain did not come from large reductions in the percent of interns whose performance

Figure 5

AVERAGE READING ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS: RAW SCORES AND SCORES CORRECTED FOR GUESSING

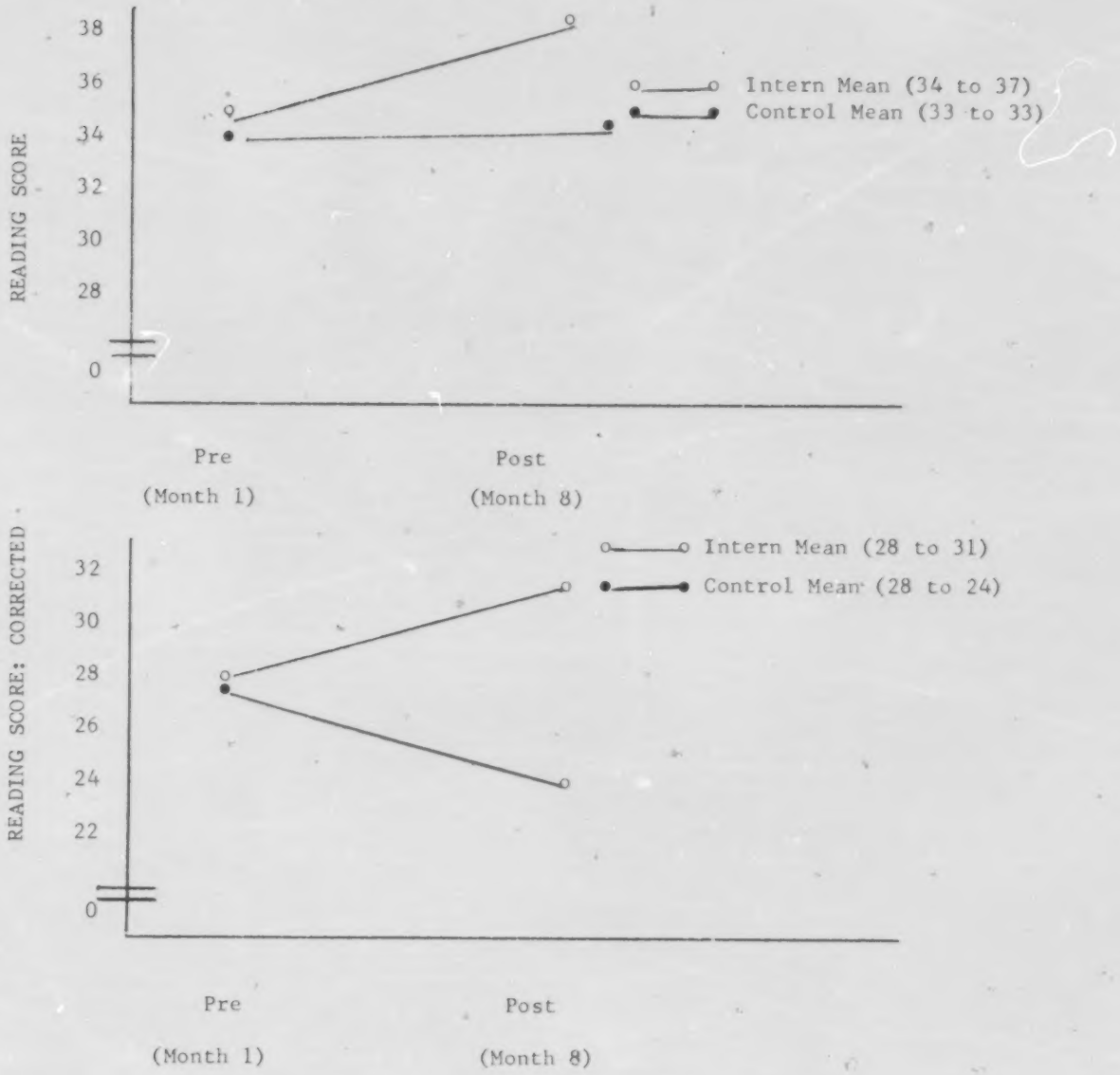
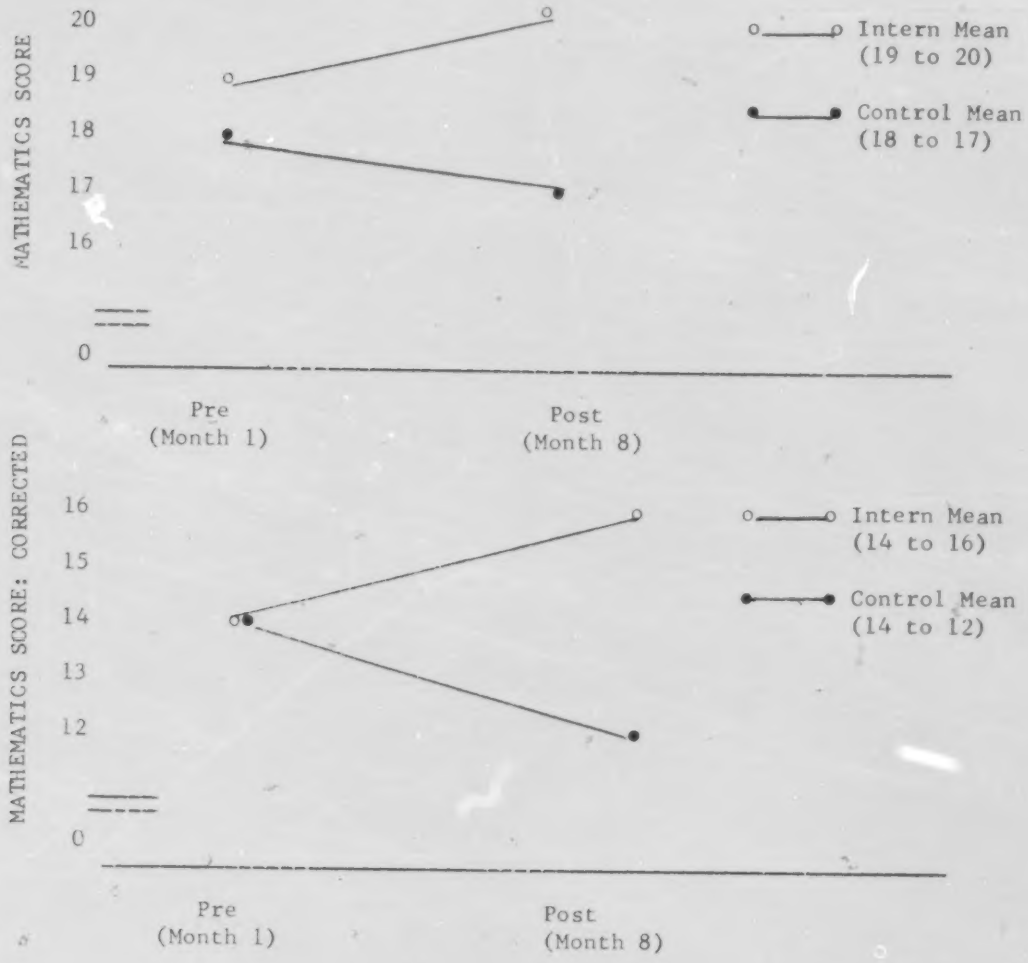


Figure 6

AVERAGE MATEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS
AND CONTROLS: RAW SCORES AND SCORES
CORRECTED FOR GUESSING



was relatively low, but in the shift from the percent in "average" group to the percent with above average performance.

TABLE XXI NON-VERBAL REASONING TEST SCORES OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS

Group	N		Distributions Pre	Post
Interns	82	Below Avge.	13%	7%
		Average	71%	59%
		Above Avge.	16%	22%
		Mean Score	37	40
Controls	52	Below Avge.	6%	8%
		Average	67%	70%
		Above Avge.	27%	21%
		Mean Score	39	39

Thus, interns do give evidence of having improved in general reasoning ability test performance. Although the change is slight--the average score stays within the average range, given the normal growth expected during the time spent in the program---by comparison with the lack of change in the control group, this unexpected difference adds some strength to cumulating evidence of CIP's impact.

Two questions might be raised. First, perhaps some control students may not have tried as hard to do well on the post tests and the apparent lack of gain for controls reflects only motivation. This question is difficult to answer. Since the test is untimed, if interns work more slowly and carefully while controls were more likely to guess, this would not affect scores in the same way it does the timed achievement tests. Thus,a correction for guessing is not used. Looking instead at very low scores, two controls did have post scores far lower than the pre-test range while two had scores above the pre-test range. The interns' distribution in comparison only moved up, rather than fanning out. This suggests that some, but not all of the difference could be due to motivational change.

Second, is a gain of four raw score points educationally worth mentioning, even if it is statistically reliable? It is not possible to assess the impact of four points on the interns' future careers. In general, improvement, however modest, in either basic reasoning ability or motivation to use abilities could be expected to be of

some help to young people.

WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED SO FAR?

From a strictly statistical viewpoint, there might be cause to say "it works." The gains in reading and mathematics were significantly larger for the interns than for the control groups. Application of a correction for guessing did not affect the gains for interns but revealed decreases in control group performance with a net result of increasing still further the statistical certainty of gains favoring the interns. An unexpected but reliable gain in reasoning ability test performance favoring the controls was found. Lastly, these effects were replicated across all three groups of applicants versus controls.

From the viewpoint of educational significance, two notes of caution are sounded. First, the average absolute levels of reading and mathematics achievement are still below the eighth grade, so the deficiencies in basic skills have been reduced, but not overcome. Second, the pattern of progress toward, but not achievement of, high final levels applies to academic achievement as well as academic behavior.

For reasons detailed in the technical appendices, the data probably tend to underestimate the true impact of CIP. Taking this into account, the evidence so far suggests CIP is effective in improving the academic behaviors, academic achievement, test performance, and perhaps even abilities of participating youth.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DOES IT WORK?: INTERN ATTITUDES AND CAREER MATURITY

Neither CIP nor, probably, any other program can guarantee students success in life. The school of the interns' choice may not admit them. Scholarship funds and earnings may not stretch far enough. Labor market conditions may mean unemployment, long periods of employment in youth jobs, a slower rise to more rewarding positions, and being unable to move from job to job---or from occupation to occupation. More broadly, success in life may be limited by personal losses and disappointments. Accepting the limitations as well as the joys of family responsibilities may require adjustments. Broader socio-political conditions affecting recreation, housing, health, transportaiton and educational opportunities may limit success in life.

What, then, can CIP responsibly promise in preparing a young person for success in life? Perhaps most central are the characteristics---both attitudinal and cognitive---that help people to plan ahead, to be ready to act on opportunities when they arise, to create their own opportunities, and to have the ability to keep trying rather than wilt at an early disappointment.

A Sense of Self Worth:

According to the data shown in Table XXII, both interns and controls began with a strong sense of self worth in general (70%, average or higher), as a friend (75% positive or very positive) and toward their families (60% positive or very positive). Few, however, had much hope for themselves as students (only 20% positive feelings).

A year later,

- interns continued to have a strong sense of self worth in general (90%), as a friend (91%), and toward their families (64%).
- Most interns, in addition, now saw themselves as good students (52%).

- The direction of change for the control students is the same as for the interns. Clearly, their experiences during the intervening year---or "maturation"---were helping these young people too.

TABLE XXII A SENSE OF SELF WORTH: DISTRIBUTIONS AND SCORES, PRE AND POST, FOR INTERNS AND CONTROLS

MEASURE		DISTRIBUTION		MEAN SCORES	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
General Self Esteem	VL	6%	2%	19	21
Interns	L	28%	8%		
(N=86)	AV	42%	30%		
	H	21%	54%		
	VH	4%	6%		
General Self Esteem	VL	11%	3%	19	21
Controls	L	18%	11%		
(N=66)	AV	44%	44%		
	H	28%	39%		
	VH	--	3%		
Feelings Towards	VN	0%	0%	7	7
Friends	N	15%	9%		
Interns	P	51%	43%		
(N=86)	VP	34%	48%		
Feelings Toward	VN	1%	0%	7	7
Friends	N	11%	5%		
Controls	P	65%	62%		
(N=66)	VP	23%	33%		
Feelings Toward	VN	8%	5%	5	5
Family	N	29%	31%		
Interns	P	32%	26%		
(N=86)	VP	30%	38%		
Feelings Toward	VN	5%	5%	5	5
Family	N	35%	26%		
Controls	P	39%	29%		
(N-66)	VP	21%	41%		
Feelings About					
Themselves	VN	35%	21%	4	5
As Students	N	42%	27%		
Interns	P	22%	35%		
(N=86)	VP	1%	17%		
Feelings About					
Themselves	VN	51%	21%	4	5
As Students	N	35%	34%		
Control	P	15%	38%		
(N=66)	VP	0%	8%		

- The rate of change favors the interns. For example with regard to general self worth, 60% of the interns but only 42% of the controls indicate highly positive or very highly positive feelings about themselves.

- The differences are not statistically reliable when means are compared. This may be due to the fact that most interns were so generally positive there was little room for growth, possible response biases favoring controls, or simply that the groups are not that different.

- On the other hand, the distributional differences are consistent with observations and interview reports.

  For example, interns changed the way they felt about their friends. While most of the applicants to the program felt good about the way they saw themselves in relation to their friends---they weren't the most popular students, but they weren't left out, either---friends were often blamed for interns' failure in school.

  CIP experiences changed the "run with the group" sense. Interns were less likely to see themselves as followers, less in need of hunkering down together to beat the system. They began to see themselves as needing each other's support to cope, to meet their responsibilities, to achieve their goals.

  This attitude about the role of peers is one of the most striking characteristics of CIP interns.

  > "The students here talk to other students about going to class, getting an education and all that. It's the first time I heard that and it really shocked me. Like, if I said I was cutting class, they'd probably look at me and encourage me to go to class and ask why I'm leavin' school or something, and I'd probably end up going to class. In my old high school, they have gone with me."

As another example, interns came to see themselves as good students. Most applicants to the program were school failures. Not surprisingly, they didn't see themselves as very good students, at the time of application. These perceptions changed for the majority of interns:

> "I changed my whole idea. Like, I though I wasn't going to never get out of school. I was going to drop. I just knew I wanted to get out--and I just couldn't make it over there...On my midterms this semester I got four B's and one C. I feel good. I want that C to be a B, though. Yeah, I'm hoping to get all B's and maybe an A in Miss T's class."

This change in attitude wasn't universal. About a third of the interns who started dropped out. For those who stayed, the change in their feelings about their role as students had three facets. They decided that school had real value, beyond a diploma, after all. They decided that they could make it, and they decided that making it was up to them.

> "I was in the eleventh grade. School just didn't interest me. Going to Math and English and History. I just wasn't into that. Here I discovered we don't have to be miserable to learn. Learning can be fun."

Career Planning---Wanting To and Knowing How To

With regard to career planning, the data in Table XXIII have a clear message. In both attitudes and knowledge thought essential for career planning, interns' scores increased substantially more than did controls. Six findings stand out:

1. Many interns entered CIP with average or better willingness to plan (67%) and use resources for planning (76%).

2. Despite relatively little room to grow (and thus an expectation that major changes would not be found), they showed positive changes. After eight months in CIP, few interns were below average or worse on willingness to plan (9%) or use of resources (9%). Most were average or well above average (91% and 91%, respectively).

3. The direction of change was the same for controls. Their rate of change was substantially lower.

4. On "know-how", many interns began CIP with little evidence of much career information or ability to use information wisely in making decisions (64% were below average or worse).

TABLE XXIII: CAREER PLANNING ATTITUDES AND KNOW-HOW PRE AND POST FOR INTERNS AND CONTROLS

MEASURE	N		DISTRIBUTION		MEAN SCORE	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Planning Interns	84	L	14%	3%	97	123
		BA	19%	6%		
		A	33%	13%		
		AA	19%	20%		
		H	15%	58%		
Planning Controls	64	L	8%	5%	97	108
		BA	24%	14%		
		A	36%	25%		
		AA	25%	28%		
		H	8%	28%		
Use of Resources Interns	84	L	5%	2%	257	299
		BA	18%	7%		
		A	32%	15%		
		AA	24%	27%		
		H	20%	48%		
Use of Resources Controls	64	L	0%	6%	252	261
		BA	25%	9%		
		A	34%	34%		
		AA	27%	30%		
		H	14%	30%		
Information & Decision-Making Interns	88	L	27%	14%	13	16
		BA	37%	23%		
		A	22%	28%		
		AA	13%	13%		
		H	1%	12%		
Information & Decision-Making Controls	66	L	30%	29%	13	14
		BA	35%	26%		
		A	26%	30%		
		AA	7%	14%		
		H	2%	2%		

5. The know-how improved substantially. At graduation only 37% still had problems, while 63% were average or better.

6. This was not true for the controls. Their performance improved somewhat, but the improvement was smaller than of the interns.

Performance on the measures is consistent with observations and interviews.

Interns Improved Their Career Planning Skills. Upon entering the program interns could plan for careers about as well as anybody else. By the time they left, they had sharply honed their skills in this area. They not only had become much better at it than their counterparts who had applied but were not admitted, but they were far better at it than their peers throughout the country.

They had defined career goals. They had checked out first-hand the technical demands of these careers and what it would take to get into them. They had learned to refine their plans in the light of reality--what are the chances of getting there, will I advance, will I be happy, do I have the required talents? They had devised strategies for attaining these goals. They had learned the importance of commitment to goals.

> "I'm going to college, but I'm going for nursing, and I feel that's what I want to do now. I always wanted to be a nurse, but I wasn't really sure that I was going to ever go to college. It was just the thought, but now I've made up my mind. I decided in May, when I was going here in career counseling.
>
> I'll be studying a lot of Biology, and some Math, English--probably more, too. I can do it if I put my mind to it. If I met a guy, I wouldn't let that interfere. I have thought, too, about the things nurses have to do, but it doesn't change my mind, 'cause I like helping people."

Interns Learned to Make Better Use of Resources Available in Exploring Career Possibilities. They learned to ask questions and to seek expert advice about job requirements. They learned that it was all right to have weaknesses, to lack certain skills, to admit this and to ask others for help. They learned to evaluate sources of information and to be skeptical of promises made by people they don't know.

Graduates Increased their Knowledge about Careers. This new knowledge emphasized diversity and relations. In the career of nursing, for example, interns learned that nurses aren't simply nurses. There are RN's and LPN's, nurses who work in hospitals, others who come to people's homes, some who work for individual doctors and still others who work in factories or business. Some have their own private practices. Interns learned that there are several ways to become a nurse and that one doesn't have to be a woman to pursue this career. They learned that nursing isn't a single job to be trained in, but something a person can get hold of, shape the way she/he wants it and end up with a creation of one's own.

Furthermore, they learned that there is a connection between doing research for History II and the kinds of things one will be asked to do in the doctor's office in which one will be working, or between discussions in English class and the problems one will have to deal with when Mr. Brown's little boy refuses to take his post-operative medicine.

Interns set career goals. During their first few weeks in the Career Intern Program, interns make first and second occupational choices. They do this with their counselors as the Career Development Plan is completed, and in the Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) as they select a topic for their career reports. Often, these initial choices are careers they have been interested in for some time. Sometimes, these early choices involve careers first encountered in their classes at the CIP.

The choices interns make can be distinguished from those of control or comparison subjects, in that they represent a formal and conscious decision. Most control or comparison subjects have also made choices, but these tend to be privately held and tentative. Interns make career choices through discussion with teachers, counselors, and other interns. Control and comparison subjects rarely discuss their choices with anyone outside their own family.

One member of the comparison group, when asked about the choice of a career said:

> "I've thought a lot about careers, but I always change it. Psychiatry -- well, like, on my application I wrote down accounting -- but all I really want to do is just get in the door. Because, you know -- I don't know. I don't know what I'm good at or what I really want to do. I've been like this all -- ever since I can remember. Teachers ask you what you want to be when you grow up. It's always something different."

Another comparison student, telling how she became interested in courtroom stenography, illustrates how early career choices are more often a result of incidentally available rather than deliberately sought information:

> "Well, when I used to watch T.V., I always watched what that person was doing, just sitting there and doing it. My cousin is a courtroom stenographer and she was telling me how much you get paid and that it's a good job. My cousin never told me what a courtroom stenographer exactly does. She has one (a machine) at her house, but she doesn't ever tell me."

In her junior year of high school, another comparison student wanted to be a stewardess. Asked who she had talked to about her career plans, she replied, "Only my mother." Early in her senior year, while she had not rejected the airline stewardess idea, she revealed more about her thinking:

> "I'm still thinking about that being an airline stewardess, but I heard you have to go to college for two years for that. I don't know -- I like to work with children, but I don't know. If I don't go to college, I just want to find a job. But I was thinking about going to a training school for something, you know, to take up. I like bookkeeping--"

Being required frequently to explain their occupational choice, interns develop a close "identification" with that career. Teachers, counselors, and other interns see an intern in terms of his/her occupational choice, referring to him/her as "Jackie, who wants to be a nurse," or "Joseph, who is interested in accounting." Interns have the opportunity to preview how others will see them in the occupational roles associated with their occupational choice. They find themselves in the position of defending or explaining their choices to others, and in doing so, they experience what commitment to a particular occupation is like. Furthermore, identification with an occupation gives interns the inpetus to find out as much as possible about the work they chose, as if they were definitely going into that field. However, this identification with an occupation does not imply that interns must hold to their original choices. The process of commitment is more important with regard to program objectives than the particular career itself.

Regardless of whether or not interns stick with their initial choices, they gain experience by seeing themselves in a particular social role and interacting with others who also see them in this role. There is no pressure applied to keep them from changing their minds, but at least they have had the experience of "trying on" an occupational identity.

Interns learn to find and use resources. Most applicants, in stating initial choices, cite relatives or friends or, infrequently, television, as the basis for their knowledge about a particular career. Almost every individual knew someone who was doing what they said they wanted to do. After a few weeks at the CIP, however, interns began citing reference materials, professional opinions, and their own first-hand experiences with the occupation as the basis for their career decision, while control and comparison youth continued to use relatives and friends as their primary source of information.

Control subjects have limited access to information from any sources other than relatives and friends. Comparison group students, even though they have access to counseling and career reference materials, have only limited knowledge of such resources and rarely use them. They tend not to seek career information, and they do not expect their counselors to help them. They do sometimes get on mailing lists of recruiting business, and these constitute virtually their only other source of career information.

Interns begin to seek out information on specific topics, such as career content, career preparation, financial considerations for post-high school training, and job application procedures. They learn that there are some sources of information which are more reliable than others. They learn where they can go to find answers to the questions they have and what kind of questions they should be asking.

Interns refine their goals. As interns learn to use resources and thus gain career-related information, they find it necessary to refine their original career goals. This refinement may range from a confirmation of the initial commitment to choosing a different career goal altogether.

Often an initial choice turns out to be the choice of a general field. For instance, interns may say they want to go into computer technology or into the health professions.

They usually have some knowledge of the general field, but lack information about specific occupations. The field may appeal to them because of material or social advantages they feel people in the field enjoy, such as shorter work days, good salaries, or prestige. Specific knowledge of the field itself need not be a major determinant of their choice. As their knowledge increases through preparing career reports, talking to their counselors and teachers, and through their hands-on exposures, interns begin to home in on specific occupations within the field.

> Doris told her counselor she was interested in computer technology. It paid well and involved doing mathematics, which she enjoyed. Although not incorrect, these initial impressions were incomplete. After her career report and Hands-On, she realized that there was range of jobs available within the field of computer technology. She also realized that different jobs required different kinds and amounts of training, involved one in different kinds of activities, and paid at different rates. She decided that she wanted to study computer operating, which includes keypunching, tape mounting, and feeding cards. The amount of education required for this subfield of computer technology was acceptable to her, and the salary, although not as high as that of programmers, was considered adequate.

Other interns start out with a specific career they want to pursue. Their conceptions of what someone in that career actually does on the job may be vague, or they may have a misperception as to what the job entails, either in respect to the education required or the actual tasks that must be performed. As they gain information and interact with people engaged in that career, they may remain interested in the general field but discover an alternate occupation within it that appears preferable to the original choice.

> One intern originally thought she would like to be a dental assistant. At her Hands-On, where she worked part of the time with a dental receptionist, she realized that she would prefer the duties of the receptionist to those of the dental assistant.

As interns discover more about what it takes to enter a career and more about their own talents, they often adjust their aspirations.

An intern who had said he wanted to become a veterinarian changed his choice to veterinarian's assistant when he found out how many years of school it required to become a veterinarian, how difficult it was to get into veterinarian school, and how he was doing at CIP. He still wanted to work with animals and, as a result of his Hands-On exposure, recognized the need for paraprofessionals in the field of veterinary medicine. He feels confident that he can get a job working for a veterinarian or in a clinic by calling on the experience he will have gained from his Hands-On placement and his on-the-job training with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Another intern wanted to become a practical nurse, like her aunt. She knew that less education was required to become a practical nurse than to become a registered nurse. In her career report, she discovered that a registered nurse has more varied duties and greater opportunities for advancement than the practical nurse. Since she was doing quite well in her courses at CIP, she decided that she could go to college and become a registered nurse. She had gained confidence in her ability to do well in school, and she had been encouraged by her teachers and counselors to go to college.

Frequently, interns' initial choices can be characterized as "ideal," while the second is more practical. As interns discover more about themselves and their choices, their "first" choice may be discarded in favor of the "second." Interns in the program are not discouraged from setting their sight on their first choice, but they are encouraged to come to grips with the realities of pursuing and reaching career goals.

Mike typifies interns whose career goal refinement follows this pattern. In this first semester in the program, Mike told everybody that he wanted to become a journalist. As he did research for his career report, he toyed with the ideas of being a television newsman, a newspaperman, or a magazine writer. He read avidly about current events and, being extremely verbal, liked to talk about politics and social problems with his teachers and other

interns. He believed he was a good writer and that he had the personality to become a television news anchorman, like one he particularly admired on a local station. His second choice was welding.

His brother was a welder and he made good money at it. Mike never said much about his second choice to anyone, because he liked the reaction he got when he talked about being a journalist. He realized, in doing his career report, that he would have to go to college to become a journalist and that breaking into the field was extremely difficult. By his second semester in the program, after his first Hands-On experience in welding, he began to talk more about the advantages of being a welder. He finally admitted that he expected all along that he probably would become a welder, since he didn't really know if he wanted go to college at all.

"I wouldn't mind being a welder, 'cause I know a lot of people that's into that profession and they tell me that it's pretty nice. Welding isn't much like journalism, but I feel like this--if a man can use his hands along with his head, he's got something. But if a man uses his head too much and can't use his hands, he's lost. If he knows how to do something with his hands, if he knows how to weld or do construction or bricklaying, his chances are better of succeeding."

In summary, interns refine career goals as they learn about careers and about themselves. This refinement may involve confirming their initial choice, choosing a different but related career goal, adjusting aspirations, or adopting a second choice.

Interns make plans for achieving their goals. Because interns have specific goals in mind, they have something concrete for which to plan. This planning typically exhibits the following four features.

First, interns participate in planning their own CIP program with occupational goals in mind. In formulating the Career Development Plan with their counselors, interns begin to explore the post-secondary school requirements of

their occupational choices. In doing this, they make their own decisions about the necessary courses they will need, which allow them to pace themselves through the program.

Secondly, interns base their planning on information gleaned from a variety of sources. They learn not to depend solely on what their relatives tell them or on what they hear from friends or on television, but on recognized and informed sources. In addition, they use the feedback they get about themselves -- their own needs, academic abilities, preferences, and aptitudes.

Third, interns seek out and use professional help in making their plans. They are not left to sort out willy-nilly the complex procedures for getting into post-secondary institutions and/or the job market. Once interns have made decisions and plans to carry them out, they are encouraged to use the staff at CIP and elsewhere in sorting out the tasks necessary for realizing their plans.

Finally, successful interns learn to exploit leads they get from "Hands-On" placement, career counselors, or counselors. These connections enable interns to look beyond their own communities and personal networks of information and opportunities.

Interns commit themselves to achieving their goals. Commitment to the goals they are setting starts when interns first indicate their career choices and accelerates as they refine these choices. By the time interns have begun to finalize their plans, most are strongly committed to seeing them through. The intern who wanted to be a veterinarian is an example. Although he eventually adjusted his occupational goal to one which was more reasonable for him, he had expressed a strong commitment to becoming a Veterinarian. In doing this, he was assuming a posture that forced him to come to grips with the barriers to cross to reach his goal. When he was faced with facts of his poor academic performance and the difficulty of getting into veterinarian school, rather than give up the ideas in frustrations, he chose to pursue a related but easier goal.

Interns learn the behavioral protocols of the work context. One of the Career Counseling Seminar's goals is to develop the "social adjustment" of the interns. This is seen by the program to be a necessary condition for success in a career. Social adjustment, as defined by the CIP, means

adopting a disciplined approach to work and basic social amenities. In the school context, it is taught by insisting on such behaviors as taking off one's hat inside the classroom building, saying "please" and "thank you," being on time for appointments or living up to commitments and responsibilities. Interns understand that observing these social amenities within the school carries over into the outside. Comparison students, although aware that similar rules exist in the public high school, fail to understand either the rationale or the transferability of such rules to outside contexts.

This difference is reflected in the way comparison students and interns talk about rules. First, a comparison student discusses his reactions to the rules imposed on him at the public high school.

> "Some things that you aren't suppose to do in this school are pot smoking, smoking, period, and cutting classes. I don't think they ought to be strict on people who cut. I got caught cutting 17 times last year. Nothing happened to me because I beat on that."

To this comparison student, cutting classes is a school matter, the consequences of which extend no farther than the school. In contast with this is the following observation an intern makes at CIP:

> "You don't see any graffiti on the wall here; now why is this? Well, the population here is almost 90% black. In any other high school you can walk around and somebody is writing on the walls. Why don't you see this here? Cause people change when they sign up for this program. They had a realistic issue in their minds. They evaluated themselves and said, "I'm coming here for a purpose, not for writing on the walls," you know. "I'm coming here to write on some paper, do something constructive instead of destructive." That's the only way you can get somewhere. I think I'm right; I hope I'm right.

SUMMARY

The process of career decision-making and career planning which characterizes many interns who complete CIP has been outlined above. Many of these young men and women can now set occupational goals, use sources, refine goals,

make plans, develop commitment to goals, and learn the behavioral protocols of the work/school context, skills and attitudes that can help them adapt to the future, and which are perhaps among the best assurances a program can offer for success in life.

CHAPTER NINE

AFTER GRADUATION: AT WORK, IN SCHOOL OR AT HOME

Six months or more after graduating from CIP, as Table XXIV shows, interns were substantially more likely than controls to be in school, slightly more likely to be employed, and less likely to be involuntarily "at home"--looking for something to do, but unable to find it.

TABLE XXIV
SIX MONTHS OR MORE AFTER GRADUATION---INTERNS AND CONTROLS*

ACTIVITY	Interns		Controls	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
N =	31	46	28	26
Employed	42%	26%	39%	27%
In College	23%	33%	0%	8%
In technical school	6%	17%	0%	23%
In high school	--	--	4%	12%
Neither working nor in school	29%	24%	57%	31%

*Controls were followed up at the same time as the interns.

Continuing Their Education:

As Table XXIV shows, the biggest difference CIP made was in enabling youth to continue their education. Almost three out of ten of the men and five out of ten women graduates were in technical school or college. In contrast, none of the men in the control group and only 31% of the women were continuing their education. (An additional 4% and 12%, respectively of the control group men and women were in high school.)

o The impact of CIP on continuing education of any kind was greatest for the men. CIP seems to make it possible for men to get into post-secondary educational programs.

o For the women, the impact of CIP was greatest on where they were in school (college versus technical school versus high school) rather than being in school per se.

Neither Working Nor In School:

Table XXIV indicates that above 27% of the interns (24% of the women and 29% of the men) were at home. Slightly more (31%) women in the control group were also at home. The most striking finding is that 57% of the control group men are neither working nor in school. Without CIP, young black men in Philadelphia apparently have little opportunity: continuing education is closed to them without the high school diploma many lack. Returning to high school is apparently more difficult for men than for women, and only about 30% of the youth--graduates or not--are able to find full-time jobs.

To find out more about the at-home group of CIP graduates, 12 were followed-up with telephone interviews:

George, age 18, worked in a car wash for two months after graduation. Interested in music education, he plans to attend college in the next semester. George said he was held up by all the paperwork required for college admission. Poor timing made him miss one chance for financial aid. When asked if he really thought he could get this aid, George replied, "Sure. You only have to be poor to get it, and I'm sure as hell poor,"

Mary, age 20, was out when we called, and the following information was provided by her mother: "Mary has been looking for a job since graduation. She couldn't find one and got disgusted. I have to take care of her, since her father died. He worked for the city; so I get social security. I don't want her to go on public assistance, 'cause once they get on that they don't want to work anymore. Everything got mixed up it seemed. No job after looking and looking, and she even had bad luck with the Community College grant. She got a $1,000 grant from the city, but it came toolate (in September) to help her. Mary's been at home since graduation. She quit looking for a job about a month ago. The college thing really did it. I think she'll go there, but right now she's disgusted."

The mother has diabetes and cannot work. She also reports that she has seven other people to take care of. The mother stated she through OICs/A was a very good organization because it helped Mary.

Joe, age 19, started work after graduation at a Machine Shop. He quit after several months because he did not like factory work. He found another job as a clerk in a men's clothing store which he liked better, but he lost this job when the store went out of business. He has since applied at a national department store chain for sales work but has so far heard nothing.

Joe is torn between getting a job (for the money and the experience) and going to Community College to study business administration. Joe says, "If I don't land a job, I'll apply for a grant at Community College. I want to go--probably will. But I would like to work a while first."

Harry, age 17, is not living in Philadelphia. His father reported that the last he heard, Harry was staying with an uncle and working in another city. No job details were given. Other information indicates that Harry is indeed in another city, but is in police custody with a serious charge against him growing out of an attempted robbery.

Robert, age 21, is studying business administration at a well-known Eastern state university. His father reports that Robert started school this September and seems to be doing well. According to his letters and a phone conversation his father had with him last week, he seems to be enjoying the university.

Sarah, age 19, is married and expecting a baby. Her husband has a good job with the electric company. Sarah has no immediate plans for more education or a job. She feels she needs neither because she is very involved with "fixing up" her new house and making plans for the baby.

Richard, age 20, has been out of work for the past 15 months since graduation. He has tried to find work with the city as a laborer but feels his lack of political connection has been part of the reason he has not been hired. "I'm waiting for something to come up. Everyone says jobs are tight. I go for a job and the man says, 'Hire you? We're laying people off.' It's rough." Richard lives at home with his mother.

Four of the seven "at home" students either are taking post-high school education or are planning to pursue it; two graduates have not tied up with a job or taken additional education; one is married and expecting a child.

How Do The Graduates Feel About CIP?

If one believes continuing education more than entry into full-time employment, is most essential for success when youth hope to enter technical or professional occupations, the high rate--relative to control interns--of youth who are continuing their education is perhaps the most striking testimony of CIP's success.

These youth have a long, steep road ahead: their levels of basic skills, while improved, are still very low. They face labor market competition for scarce professional jobs. And their newly learned academic habits will have to improve to sustain them without CIP's special support. Because attitudes may be critical in helping them along the way, the next sections examine how interns and controls feel, six months later.

As seen in the sample of graduates and controls selected for intensive study, CIP graduates differ from controls not only in what they are doing, but also in the way in which they approach their lives.

Graduates Have Clear Career Goals. Perhaps as a carry-over from their experience in the Career Intern Program, graduates continue to set career goals and express a strong commitment to carrying out their goals. Control subjects have either set no career goals or have only vague notions of what careers they are interested in and have the ability to pursue.

Graduates, without exception, had either retained the career goal they had set for themselves while in the program, or they had selected another career goal to which they were committed. As interns, they had learned the importance of defining clear goals and of committing themselves to their attainment. As graduates this commitment often took on a new significance as they faced the obstacles to getting and keeping jobs.

Valerie, a graduate, had been working as a clerk for an insurance company. She moved into a house with several friends just down the street from her parents' home. She was learning to make it on her own and was doing well at her job. However, she still wanted to work toward the career she had chosen when she was in the program over a year before.

> I'm still thinking of being a dental assistant. I'm at the point now where I'm saying, I'm gonna make something out of life or do nothing, and this is the point I'm at now, where I'm saying I'm gonna make something out of my life. I don't want to rush into anything, but I don't want to take too long either. So I have a time limit within myself, you know. I know within myself, I am very confident of myself: so therefore what I set out to do, I can do it. You know, all it takes is me wanting to do it.

Clark, a control subject, typifies the confusion and lack of commitment generally exhibited by controls. He indicated that he wanted to be a lawyer when he applied to the CIP. A year later he could not remember what he had written down on the application form. He had no career goal in mind, and when asked if he would have a better idea had he a high school diploma, he replied,

> Not right at the time--not off hand. I haven't really given it much thought.

Another control, Lee, was in the twelfth grade at the high school he had been attending when he applied to CIP. He had made a complete turn-about in his school performance, as he had been flunking when he applied to the program. When he did not get into CIP, he decided he was going to graduate no matter what. "I just made up my mind to do it," he said. Although he had focused squarely on getting out of high school, he was vague about his post-high school plans.

> I think what I'll do next should be a job. I heard about it 'cause I have another friend that works, you know, at a hospital, and the hours he works and, you know, the cars he drives, I think he's making good money. I haven't looked into any other school for studying, just that one that sent me a card. Maybe in five years or so, I'll be driving a truck, like a tractor and trailer. I could do that, you know. But like, you know, I would still like to have the other background because I might have spare time where I could get two jobs--one working at night and one working at day. I'll probably end up driving trucks, 'cause I love to drive. Maybe a second job would be a mechanic. The third is the medical laboratory technician. I feel as though, like, if I could get into training for that a couple of months, then I'll already know their scale, so, you know, if I'm driving a truck and, like I said, I have extra time, I still can get a job doing that. Like a easy job and a hard job. But, driving trucks is the easier job.

Lee has three career/jobs that he has been thinking about. Most of his information is from friends or relatives. He has not spoken with his counselor at school about any of his ideas. He is attracted to the various jobs because of the amount of money he imagines he would earn, based on the kinds of cars people in those jobs drive.

A CIP graduate's experience contrasts with the uncertainty reflected in Lee's comments:

> When I first came in here I was thinking about teaching. I really wasn't too sure. But then I was selected for that Congressional Seminar, you know, when we went to Washington. And then I decided I wanted to become a lawyer, 'cause I want to go into politics. We went to Georgetown and different places in Washington, and we met so many people. Senator Schweiker, Senator Humphrey, and we went to see Congressman Nix. And I said, "Well, why can't I do it too," and Shirley Chisholm she got so close, she's number one. Now if she can get that close, in 1972--if she can get close, why can't I? They say I have a lot of disadvantages because I'm a woman and 'cause I'm black, but like, I don't believe it.

This graduate began attending West Chester State College in the summer semester, a few months after her graduation from CIP.

Graduates Work Systematically Toward Achieving Their Goals.

Members of both groups, graduates and controls, define a career and a job in similar ways. Both see a career as something they would want to do for the rest of their lives, while a job is temporary. In real life, however, controls tend to take a series of unrelated, available jobs, while graduates are able to work systematically toward careers. Since control subjects tend not to have defined their career goals clearly, such a approach is impossible. Graduates, on the other hand, not only have firm goals in mind, but the skills and commitment to take the initiative in working toward them.

Graduates continue to use resources in the way they did while they were in the program, seeking out information sources which are going to yield them the most accurate and useful knowledge. Furthermore, they tend to persevere through obstacles toward their goals, accepting the responsibility for overcoming difficulties.

Perry an intern who graduated in February of 1975, experienced a number of immediate setbacks. He wanted to go to college to study psychology, a field he became interested in while working at a recreation center for handicapped children. He signed up for Project Ahead, a special Army program which pays college tuition. After entering the Army, he discovered he had asthma and was given a medical discharge. At the same time of the interview, he was in the process of trying to secure financial assistance to pay his own tuition, since his elderly grandparents with whom he lived could not help him. Not surprisingly, his comments reflect the frustrations he has experienced, but they also demonstrate an underlying determination to work out his situation:

> Right now, I just kind of wonder about the future. I'm not too sure. I'm just--I'll just keep at it and wait and see if everything works out. If something don't work out, I'll just try to find another way, that's all. I'll just keep trying.

When he returned from the Army, he went back to the recreation center where he had previsouly worked to see if he could get his job back and earn some extra money during the summer before going away to school. Because he had not planned on returning for at least two years when he quit, his job had been filled, and there was no money to pay him. He felt, however, that it would be more beneficial to him in the long run to work at the center as a volunteer than to try to get a job just to earn money. "I can't get money, but I can still get a lot out of working with it," he said.

Control group members, by contrast, if they had worked at all, usually listed a series of jobs they had held. They saw these jobs as being temporary, useful as a source of income and little more, and their future plans included more of the same. The following two control members' plans for getting jobs are typical.

> I'm looking, but, you know, not tough, like really, I just been waiting here for somebody, a friend. If you hear of a job, just let me know, I will work anywhere up until school.

> I applied for a packing company job, and they keep saying they don't have openings there. But I just filled out an application over there--a job for a department store. That didn't come through yet either. Im still waiting, if they call me. That's all I can do.

Graduates Are Able to Adjust to the Social Demands of Their Working Context. The socialization which interns

undergo while they are in the Career Intern Program stands them in good stead after they leave the program. Graduates tended to differ from controls in their understanding of appropriate work habits and in their attitudes toward the demands of others. They have gained social skills necessary in getting and keeping jobs, and in relating to others either on the job or in school contexts. In contrast, controls expressed frustration over their dealings with authorities and over whatever rules and regulations they had to follow. Some examples from interviews illustrate these findings. A CIP graduate, Valeria, who has been working in one department of a large insurance company, talks about her job and her relationship to her boss:

> I'm a general clerk, so I work on the policies and whatever it calls for in the office--index them, file them--they have a month's evaluation of your work, and like, my old supervisor, she told me I was doing very good, you know, they seem to--I just really get along with them...You have to dress presentably, you know--you're going to a job. I'm one of those people--well, I don't care too much for clothes. I like to be comfortable, but I don't mind putting on a nice pair of pants or dress.

A control, in discussing the several jobs he has had, expresses his frustration and self-doubt about his ability to bet and keep the kind of job he wants.

> I was working at Bookbinders. I was working as a dishwasher. And then I got fired from there for something simple. I took off the Fourth of July. After three months of working there without being absent or nothing, I took off the Fourth of July and they fired me..because it was only dudes on the machine or something and they said it wasn't fair to them and all that. It was kind of hard to get in touch with somebody that I really needed to get in touch with. They told me that the one I wanted wasn't there, and he was probably standing right next to him or something. And when I came back they said, "Yeah, I remember he called. But that don't make no difference." Must have been really another reason shy he wanted me out and just used that as an excuse. It's hard to stay cause usually, like, somebody is over me and they're looking over me, I can't work. It's just a fact. I'd like to find something in between, you know, instead of--it seems I don't function right.

In general, CIP graduates carry the characteristics they

have developed in the program over into their career pursuits. They use their new skills to work systematically towards achieving career goals, and they are better able to adjust to the social demands of the work context.

The Program Emphasis on Offering a Chance to Make It. The best expression of how the CIP affects graduates' lives is through their own words. Many graduates in the follow-up sample indicated that they probably would not have earned a high school diploma had they not been admitted to CIP. Others feel that CIP got them interested in learning again and contributed to their decisions to pursue post-secondary education. A few indicate that CIP had given tham the push they needed to change their direction and work positively toward making something out of their lives.

The following comments of graduates reveal how they feel the program affected their lives:

> I was going to _____ High School and I had got kicked out over there. And my mother had brought me over here, and we talked to a counselor, and he really talked to me, and made me want to come to the school. Got me interested in school again, 'cause I, like, gave up on school before I came over here. If I wouldn't have come to this school, I would have been out of school, out of an education, out of a diploma.

Another graduate remarked,

> Well, if I hadn't come to this school I might have lost my job at (a recreation center) 'cause I wasn't really doing that much then. I would have finished school, I would have played sports and slacked up on my work--keep cheating. I would have passed, but I really wouldn't have got nothing out of it.

Valerie talks about one way in which the CIP affected her attitude toward learning when she says,

> I came over here and it just awakened me. It seemed like I was to learn because the teachers--that was the big thing--the teachers--make you want to learn.

Graduates often attributed their ability to set career goals to their experiences at CIP.

> My counselor helped me decide what I wanted to do. I mean, when I first came here, I didn't have any

> idea what I wanted to do. We went into the Resource Center, and whatever idea you had, you think you wanted to be, you could go there and look it up. So I went in there, I looked at a lot of things I thought I might want to be, and I talked with my counselor about it. That's how I decided what I really want to do.

Most graduates recall their CIP experience warmly and often proselytize others on its behalf. One graduate had convinced his brother and two cousins to attend CIP and felt strongly that he would like to be able to do something about its continued existence. At the end of the interview, he volunteered this statement:

> I want to say one last thing. If everybody--if they had schools like this in the city, you'd have everybody more interested in learning than you would dropping out--it would be more people graduating than people dropping out. What I have seen now, that's graduating, I feel sorry for them 'cause I was fortunate enough to come here.

In summary, CIP graduates contend that the program made "the difference" in their lives, giving them another chance to succeed where they had failed. The evidence from the interviews is consistent in showing that something different is happening in CIP graduates' lives, and seems to be happening as a result of the overall career emphasis of the program and the continuing support the program offers its graduates, support they do not hesitate to use.

The "real" effects of CIP may not be evident until five cf ten years from now. If CIP graduates complete the post-secondary education they have begun, the trends noticed six months or more after graduation may be even more pronounced. The impact of CIP on the young men in particular could have benefits that extend beyond their own lives, in strengthening their ability to care for their families and to help improve the quality of life for their own children. For women interns, too, almost all of whom are likely to become heads of households or to work full-time during their adult lives, the doors CIP has opened to higher education may make the difference between a comfortable or an economically marginal life.

Perhaps most important is the sense of directions, inner stability, and self assurance the graduates communicate six months' later. If these remain with them, CIP may indeed be more valuable to the interns and society than even present data show.

On the other hand, perhaps CIP has only given an initial

push, and brief time in the program will not have been enough to sustain the trends. Graduates may dropout of college, and, in a few years, be indistinguishable from control youth except for a high school diploma on the wall.

All that can be said now is that the trend, six months or more after graduation, shows the control youth---particularly the young men---are mostly drifting, neither employed nor in school, while the graduates are more often on their way, following the inner compass developing their experiences in CIP.

CHAPTER TEN

"IT WORKS: HOW?"

Why Ask How?

The Career Intern Program's development has been sketched from a dream to a plan, from a bold start through a difficult shakedown year to a school with graduates. Its rationale has been presented and its curriculum laid out. Its applicants have been scrutinized, its expectations have been evaluated, and its students have talked about their experiences.

The CIP seems worth asking about because the people involved in it are excited about it and because it worked. It was able to take over 300 high school "failures" and see two out of three of them through to a diploma, and because over three quarters of these graduates are presently either employed or in postsecondary schools.

Does this mean that the CIP has found the solution to the urban dropout problem? Probably no. It does mean that CIP has found some answers that worked for some students in one city---Philadelphia.

This in itself seems reason enough to ask "How?" Philadelphia isn't alone in facing a serious problem of dropoutism among black high school students. Any help that can be offered to other schools in other cities may be welcomed.

Philadelphia isn't exactly like any other city. It shares urban problems, but much about it may be unique---the commitment of the city education administration, the resources (including organizations like OIC) that are available, the community organizations and the willingness of local businesses to cooperate---just to mention a few variables. How much of the program's success is attributable to the program itself and can be adopted elsewhere? How much comes from circumstances unlikely to be duplicated again? Or, can an "essence" be distilled that can be adapted to differing contexts?

One researcher, looking at the data from the Career Intern Program, summarized it in two words: "It works!" In this and the following chapters, some of the reasons why CIP works are examined. There are at least two possibilities:

- o CIP works because any special program serving less than 200 youth in one building, with seven counselors and eight teachers, would just about have to work.

- o CIP works because of these plus something else--- a special curriculum, a special way in which the pieces are put together---something more than a 1:15 ratio of adults and interns in a small school.

In addition, two other possibilities are examined:

- o CIP is reproducible but only by CIP, and in a template fashion, particularly in small schools with high autonomy.

- o At least some aspects of CIP can be adapted to help other high risk youth.

"With That Kind of Money, I could Do it Too."

CIP does have several features going for it, features that other studies have been shown to be effective and that many already feel could work for them. One of the things a reader might be thinking is, "If I had that kind of money and time, I could do it too."

1. It is a small school, serving a maximum of 200 youth at one time. Other studies, particularly from Great Britain, have reported better results from smaller schools rather than schools serving thousands of youth.

One example of the impact of size is the counseling program. Because of the size of their caseloads, counselors in comparison schools cannot hope to keep up with the individual problems students have. Dropouts and non-attenders frequently spoke of going to see their counselors about their credit status and getting the "run around." One comparison group student, who was thinking of dropping out, illustrates the counseling problems in high schools. She wanted to speed up graduation by going to night school. She added up her credits herself, and found she had the minimum necessary to qualify for night school. Her counselor insisted that she was one credit shy. As it turned out she had taken Spanish I in tenth grade and passed it, but never went on to Spanish II. In the Pennsylvania system of awarding credits, a student must have at least two years of a language to get credit for any one year taken. Therefore, her counselor did not count Spanish I as a credit, a rule the student was not aware of. Her counselor never explained to her why whe had one less credit than the number of courses she had taken and passed. This left the student confused. She could not sign up for night school without the recommendation of her counselor and she could not possibly graduate that year without going to night school. This all too typical example demonstrates the importance of careful counseling and indicates why so many students doubt that school counselors really care about them.

At CIP, by contrast, there are four counselors for about 200 students, or about 50 students in each counselor's caseload.

2. The principal is an instructional leader. The director of UCEC is responsible for three programs: the public school program (CCP), parent program (COP) and the intern program (CIP). While his/her time is shared, much of the portion devoted to CIP is given to instructional leadership. As a master teacher, counselor and educational leader, the director spends a great deal of time in the classroom and with the staff on instructional matters. In other schools, the principal may wish to serve as such a leader but may often find her/himself absorbed in administration. Other studies, again from Great Britain, suggest that schools are happier, safer and more effective, when the principal is first and foremost a master teacher.

Time and Money

3. CIP has had considerable time and money to develop its curriculum. Between March 1973 and June 1976, CIP received a total of $2,990,901 from the National Institute of Education. The COP and CCP components, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, received $1,300,000 during this period. Of funds for CIP, about $585,000, or 20% went to Gibboney Associates for the formative and summative evaluations. About $2,331,000, or 78% was spent on instructional and counseling services for approximately 900 youth.

About $75,000, or 3%, went for curriculum development. During the developmental period (September 1972 through February 1965), fulltime staff, equivalent to about $25,000, were working on curriculum refinement. In addition, a group of consultants, led by Dr. Allan Glatthorn, developed individualized learning packages under a $50,000 subcontract. This is probably more money and time than the average principal has at his/her disposal.

On the other hand, the time and funds are not out-of-line with those available to at least some school districts for experimentation and development. Almost every school system has several offices reporting to the superintendent with responsibilities including research, evaluation, experimentation, innovation and development. While funds for these offices often are soft money---Federal special purpose grants---some hard money from LEA and SEA tax funds are usually involved.

Thus, the average principal might state with some justification, "I could do it, too, with four years and $75,000 for curriculum development." The state and local superintendents of schools, however, may already have comparable time and resources invested for not dissimilar experimental programs.

4. Labor Unions: Some but not all of the staff of the Career Intern Program meet certification requirements for Pennsylvania. The general philosophy of OICs/A is to hire instructors who understand the problems of interns. While few of the instructors have had significant experience teaching in public schools, virtually all have worked with you, have been in other OIC training programs or in some way have had first-hand experience with disadvantaged minorities. As part of an experimental program, many worked at variance with teacher union negotiated rules in several respects. These included flexibility on the part of the director to hire and fire without regard to seniority and, if necessary, in the middle of the school year. The separation of functions was deliberately blurred as part of the CIP approach. All staff members---building custodians to the director---were encouraged to see themselves as part of one team working on behalf of the interns. While staff acomplishments were respected, all staff were expected to do what needed doing, when it needed doing. In particular, counselors and teachers were required to work together and drop their professional mystiques. The working day lasted as long as it needed to. The director was careful not to exploit staff, but expected, routinely, staff to work irregular hours if this was needed.

The extent to which these variations from teacher union-negotiated agreements by themselves accounted for CIP success is difficult to assess. Many experimental schools could give similar instances of staff expectations and relationships. Some innovative programs, such as the Job Corps, serving youth similar to those reached by CIP, may point to even more heroic, dedicated efforts on the part of staff. Some have worked; others have not. One would hope that if these CIP variations were demonstrably responsible for program success, both labor and management in education would work to incorporate them in new contracts, insofar as this would be possible and desirable in the long term.

5. Cost per student, March 1975 through February 1976. During this period of stabilized program operation, the cost per student was about $2,732 based on an 11-month school year for the program, or $248 per student month. If "special costs," such as rent, which are often spread over many students in a school district rather than those in one program, are included, the cost per student approaches $3,521 or $320 per student month.

In comparison, Price Waterhouse Co., working with Gibboney Associates on the cost data, has estimated that a general or academic student in the 1974-75 school year at Philadelphia's Germantown High School cost about $170 per student month. Our own estimates are that in Philadelphia as a whole, the academic or general student cost is about $155 per student month and for a vocational student it is $233 per student month. In two private Philadelphia senior high schools the costs per student month are $277 and $293.

The institutions and district accounting systems were not designed to separate costs such as rent in a way that would allow a strict comparison with CIP. We believe, however, that the most accurate comparison is without the "special" CIP costs, i.e. $248 per student month.

The Career Intern Program, by these comparisons, is competitive with outstanding private schools and vocational/technical programs in Philadelphia, and cost more than a Philadelphia general or academic program, figured on a per student basis.

While more money may be needed for programs such as CIP, these figures suggest that CIP's success may be explained in part, but not entirely, by having more money per student.

6. The challenge of an experimental program. The challenge of being an experimental program may have contributed to extra effort on the part of interns and staff. This cannot be discounted or adjusted for in the statistics. On the one hand, CIP was operating for four years before the final summative data were collected. Other studies of alternative schools suggest the honeymoon often is over in about two or three years, and the third and fourth years are ones of some disillusion or crisis. The honeymoon might well be expected to be over, by these data. On the other hand, the fourth year was the Big Year for the evaluation, and it was hoped that a favorable evaluation would help ensure CIP continuation, if not expansion. Also, CIP faced its internal crisis in the second year, a crisis resolved by reorganization and new leadership. So 1975-76 would probably have been an up-beat year, even without the stimulus of the evaluation.

Perhaps the strongest argument against explaining all of CIP's effect as "Hawthorne"[1] is that the findings from all four cohorts are similar in pattern. Whatever is happening in CIP has been happening fairly consistently since the first of four experimental groups entered the program in January 1974. If the results are nothing more than a Hawthorne effect, they are remarkably durable and substantial. If the effect of being an experimental school is so powerful in itself, perhaps more could be done to apply this effect to more of our schools.

---

[1]The Western Electric Company plan in Hawthorne, N.J., was the site of a famous experiment which showed that production of electric light bulbs kept climbing whatever was done to a special group of workers and their room. Production increased as new features (better lighting, new paint, music, etc.) were added, one-by-one---and it increased as all of these were taken way, one-by-one. The stimulating effect of attention has since been found in other situations.

7. Intern selection: Applicants to OIC had to be motivated enough to complete intake interviews and the fairly extensive testing. They had to be willing after all this, to be selected by lottery.

Their parents had to care enough to participate in a family interview. With a group of applicants this motivated, one might say almost any school could succeed.

While student selection may well be a critical factor in OIC retention, two facts suggest this explanation may not be the whole story. Control youth did not do as well as interns, although they also went through the full selection process. And retention of special administrative-admit students who do not receive such extensive pre-admissions testing, seems high.

Nonetheless, some kind of screening to select highly motivated students who want OIC may be necessary, though not sufficient for success.

8. Charisma: The Director of CIP is a dynamic, extraordinarily competent, dedicated, untiring, seasoned, and charismatic leader. He would probably be the first to say there are others like him who could be recruited to continue or expand CIP. He would not say, however, that CIP is "leader-proof".

Field evaluator data verify this. The first Director of UCEC, while an extraordinary person, did not have the combination of the right skills and charisma apparently required by CIP. Replacement of the earlier Director coincided with other radical changes intended to "save" CIP. The skills of the new Director could be observed, nonetheless, to be critical in ensuring that the new policies were promptly carried out at a higher level of excellence than previously seen.

Good, perahps even great, leadership may be as essential to CIP as it is to other educational innovations. According to the Ford Foundation report, A Foundation Goes to School, leadership was sine qua non of successful educational projects.

9. Attention, suspension of monitoring: In addition to the attention of the Director, CIP has received almost more person years of review than it has staff years of direct service. Beside extensive formative and summative evaluation,

CIP has received almost full-time attention from the top level, extremely competent troubleshooters from CIC/A headquarters plus a full-time monitor from NIE. There have been times when so much attention may have been seen as (and perhaps was) a liability rather than an asset, but one could argue that any school receiving this much feedback with continued support directly tied to accomplishments would accomplish as much as CIP.

While this probably accounts for much of CIP's development, it does not seem to be a full explanation for at least two reasons. First, the summative year was the final year for NIE funding, removing this contingency.

Second, during the summative year, there was little formative evaluation, greatly reduced NIE program monitoring (NIE attention was rather given to assisting CIC to find ways to continue and expand CIP) and reduced CIC/A program monitoring. The program was intentionally operating in as much of a "hands off" mode as possible.

A small school, a principal who is a charismatic educational leader, time and money to develop the curriculum, flexibility in staff working hours and relationships, more money per student than the general and academic curricula, student selection and the challenge of being an experimental school; these all probably explain in some degree why CIP worked. None seem sufficiently powerful or unique in themselves, however, to explain all the difference.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WHAT MAKES IT WORK? THE CIP PHILOSOPHY

The CIP seems able to attract, hold, motivate and change students because it makes sense to them and they feel comfortable in it. To many interns, their high school experiences were frustrating because they were alien. The attitude of teachers was often incomprehensible and is characterized by the students as "I got mine, now you get yours". The work was perceived by students as irrelevant to their expectations. The expected standards of conduct were seen as arbitrary; the goals of education as elusive, ambiguous and seldom personal. The CIP they feel, provides a welcome contrast.

As the program developed, five basic principles emerged. They comprise the often implicit goals of program administration. While each principle was sometimes honored in the breech, CIP's effectiveness seems proportional to its success in finding ways to translate these principles into action.

1. Provide A Supportive Context

Many reasons given by interns for their happiness with the program reflect their feeling that the CIP atmosphere is supportive. To them this is the most important characteristic of the entire program. They have found teachers and counselors who care about them. They are heard when they speak, looked for when they stay away and at the same time, corrected when they "mess up."

From the viewpoint of the program, commitment to this principle implies several corollaries. It means that staff (including administrators) should be always available for interns. It means that interns have certain basic rights that must be guranteed---the right to be heard, to be told where they stand in their program and to defend themselves when accused.

Finally, commitment to a supportive atmosphere for interns embodies a tacit recognition that although they have all been judged "failures" in their previous schooling, this does not mean they are to be penalized for it. Their

"failure" is seen by program staff as a function of social and economic factors. While the blame is not theirs, the responsibility for success is. Providing students with the motivation and the skills to make this possible is seen as a major goal of schooling.

2. See The Program As An Instrument Rather Than As A Basis For Social Identity: A Tool, Not A Place To Hide

This is one of the ways in which the CIP differs from both traditional high schools and many alternative programs. It means that the program plays a different role in the lives of interns than do traditional high schools for most American students. "High school student" is a label of social identity in our society. Many students are not enrolled in high school because they want to get something specific out of it, having freely made this decision. High school enrollment often is not a means to a desired end, but what is expected of people at a certain age.

The CIP nurtures a different model. CIP recruits are there because to some extent they did not measure up to the behaviors implied in the label "high school student"---they were dropouts, or potential dropouts. Many of them have jobs and families of their own. A number have been out of school for years. They are by no means "typical" high school students.

The program recognizes the different role school can play in the lives of these students in at least two ways. The first is by insisting that the enrollees be called interns and not students. The second is by making no effort to provide the extra-curricula offerings common in high schools. There are no organized sports, none of the usual student clubs, not even physical education. In short, no effort is made to persuade interns to accept a predetermined social role or to tie their identities to the CIP. They can be first and foremost, mother; father; Mr. Jones; gas station attendant; secretary or whatever role, external to the school, is suitable.

From the intern's perspective, the effect of creating this kind of a program has had some surprising results. Interns have created a student community with few cliques, little intragroup competition, and strong feelings of mutual support for peers. This latter contrasts with the situation that obtains in many high schools. A sizable number

of CIP applicants had listed influence from other students as one of the reasons for their problems in school. In CIP, the tendency is for friends to help each other to "hang in."

As must be expected, this kind of model doesn't appeal to everyone; some trade-off is inevitable. Despite their problems with the traditional schools, a number of interns who left were looking for a program that was more than a means to "getting into" a career.

Some students are looking for the kind of total support at least nominally provided by the public schools. They're turned-off by the CIP because it doesn't answer this need. They would like more extra-curricular activities and a more traditional approach to schooling. These interns, however, seem to be the minority. For the rest, one of the apparent reasons the program has worked is that it hasn't attempted to be everything the public schools are to students who are not typical in age or needs of most high school youth.

3. Deal With Interns As Whole People

> "One of the things I like about this place is that it doesn't matter what my problem is, I can find someone to talk about it. It doens't matter if it's a teacher or a counselor, they're all willing to listen."

Most educators recognize that splitting students needs into academic and social, or school skills into cognitive and affective, or student problems into school and personal, is an artificial convention. The CIP leadership is no exception. While no attempt is made to cater to all the traditional expectations of students, the program is careful to minister to the whole individual. Academic progress is seen as being related to personal well-being. The counseling staff is nearly as large as the instructional staff. Both contribute to shaping intern programs and to program decisions affecting interns. Developing the interns' awareness of the need to follow expected social codes in postsecondary education and in work is viewed as important as cognitive growth. Skills in self presentation are stressed as well as the acquisition of technical job skills. In the same vein, community and parents are tied into the program through formal structures.

4. Provide A School Experience Congruent With Realistic Life Goals

One reason given for urban high school dropoutism is the perceived irrelevance of school demands to post-high school life for students. To remedy this, the CIP, as is true of many career education programs, wishes students to view the program as making sense in light of life expectations. In the CIP, this philosophic commitment has been translated in three ways. Interns are helped to formulate realistic life goals, attempts are made to change their negative expectations, and the curriculum fuses academics and career-related skills.[1]

The CIP efforts to put the principle into action have been partially successful. Many of the innovations tried are traceable to the program's commitment to acting upon the ideal.

5. Don't Buffer Interns. Make Their Experiencing Real.

In talking with interns about their experiences in the CIP as compared with their previous school experiences, one contrast is heard over and over again. Interns are quick to blame outside influences for their earlier failures---"I got in with a bad bunch and began cutting." "I was having problems at home." "My counselor wouldn't ever help me." Now, however, they insist that any problem they encounter is their own. If they want to make it, it's up to them. This change is a reflection of the program's success in implementing the notion that, insofar as possible, an intern's educational experience should parallel a real world experience.

---

[1]"Realistic Expectations" have been read by some as a career education code word for reducing educational aspirations and tracking youth into low-level, dead-end jobs. The fact that a very high proportion of CIP interns relative to controls have entered postsecondary education suggests that CIP is not turning interns away from college. "Realistic" means at least two things to CIP: (1) do not expect to leap tall buildings in one bound: whatever your goal, you'll need a roadmap on how to get there and will need to persevere and (2) if along the way, you'll need to work---and almost all CIP students do---here's what the job market is like in Philadelphia and we'll help you get the social and technical skills to compete successfully in this job market.

This involves more than simply providing hands-on adventures. It means holding one responsible for his/her actions. It means forcing one to formulate educational and career goals, and then treating her/him as though the commitment to these goals was real. It means letting one know where one stands even though that might be painful. It means keeping students abreast of social, economic and employment changes so that graduates don't find themselves admirably prepared for an obsolete world. It does not mean that dreams be deflated, that aspirations be lowered to rock bottom or that fledglings are left to their own devices. It does mean that costs be counted and that roadblocks be foreseen.

Again, the program's success in implementing this principle has not always been perfect. Furthermore, this success has meant that some interns fall through the mesh. There are some who can't survive without the buffers.

To interns, then, the CIP worked because it met their needs. They felt important, cared for, like "people"---not students. To the staff, the CIP worked because it offered an educationally sound program: classes were small, they had time to work with interns, the curriculum was flexible.

Both viewpoints reflect the underlying concerns of the CIP to:

1. provide a supportive context for interns
2. provide an instrument, not a retreat
3. deal with whole people
4. make school congruent with life
5. not buffer interns, to make their experiencing real.

The philosophy perhaps is not unique. Some elements, such as attention to the whole child, are found in many goal statements of large and small public school systems. Some elements, such as merging academic and career learning, also are found in the objectives of many public and alternative schools. Some elements, such as downplaying identification with the school and not buffering interns, are seen less frequently.

From one perspective, this may be encouraging. If these guiding principles of CIP <u>are</u> the "something different" that may account in part for its success, they may also be more widely adaptable. In addition, some of the ways in which the principles were translated into action may suggest how to adapt what works in CIP to other settings.

CHAPTER TWELVE

FROM PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE: CHANGING ATTITUDES

The CIP approach to the question of negative attitudes toward school is "make the intern see that school can be an important instrument to getting what one wants out of life make him/her see that succeeding is possible and, equally important, make him/her realize that the responsibility is his/hers."

Every school would like to see its students adopt these attitudes. Most design their curriculum to accoplish it. Apparently, few succeed. CIP followed five general procedures.

1. Interns Set Specific Goals:

One of the first things a CIP intern is called upon to do is to begin formulating a Career Development Plan (usually referred to as the CDP). Together, after assessing intern interests and aptitudes, counselors and interns chose two specific careers to be investigated. This then becomes the goal of the intern's entire program. The goal is not strictly academic, and it may well be changed before graduation. The act of setting a goal and having to consider it when any major school decision is made has a strong effect on the academic program.

Elective courses are chosen to promote this goal. Required courses are "made to contribute" to it. They begin to take on a different hue. Interns generally tend to describe classroom activities and course content in terms of how the latter can be applied to their lives outside of school. The notion that school is a bounded phenomenon, something to be kept within the walls of the classroom and attended to from eight to two-thirty, is largely missing.

2. Don't Treat Them Like Students

A basic goal of the CIP is to present the program as an instrumentality, not as the thing that defines one's social identity. As emphasized earlier, to this end, youth who are enrolled are not referred to as students, but as interns. There is another effect of this practice, that of expanding on the notion of role definitions. Social labels limit expectations. Janitors are expected to act differently from professors and children from adults. Furthermore, social pressures tend to force individuals to live down to the limited expectations. This process tends to be accentuated if the individual has had difficulty with the role associated with the label.

The CIP's insistence that the term "intern" be used rather than student, thus has several effects. It underscores the notion that CIP is something different, that interns are getting a new chance to do something with school. It makes it easier for staff to treat youth as something other than just "students" with all of the limitations this connotes. In addition, the label "intern" focuses attention on school experiences as preparation for something other than simply getting a diploma.

Changing labels isn't the whole story. It's possible to call someone by a different name and still treat her/him as before. The CIP staff avoids treating interns as traditionally defined students. They are always greeted by name when encountered casually, for example, and are shown many other courtesies not usually offered by teachers to students.

This is not to say that the CIP staff views interns as equals. Possibly their subordinate status is stressed more explicitly here than in the public schools. They are looked at as needing help, as youngsters in the process of being shaped or apprentices with a lot to learn.

This approach doesn't work for everyone. Some interns want to be treated like students. Some teachers don't see the difference between interns and students or don't feel that the distinction is important. However, enough of the staff treat interns differently and enough interns respond to this difference that participation in CIP is seen as different from parallel experiences in the public schools.

3. <u>See Interns as Individuals</u>

> "Well, like for one thing, most high schools try to keep you as a kid. They look at you as a kid. When you come over here they don't ride your back. They say like, 'if you really want to do something everybody is here to help you. But if we see you looking we're going to say something.' Then I saw them with other people and that made me, you know, get my thing together."

This means more than keeping the staff to student ratio as high as possible or getting to know the intern's history. It also means more than remembering that each intern has a name. The CIP is careful about all of these things. It goes further, however.

In classroom recitations, instructors are not satisfied to have the correct answer given or to have a lively discussion emerge. It is equally important that each intern

recite every day and that everyone participate in the discussions. This isn't always easy for either teachers or interns. There are those who find it painful to be put on the spot. Most, however, soon find that even being "put to the test," if it is done in a supportive context can lead to the conclusion that he or she is, at least a little bit special.

Disposition conferences are held whenever an intern has serious academic, attendance or disciplinary problems. Everyone who is involved with the intern meets together--counselors, teachers and sometimes the director of the program. The intern's record is reviewed, personal views are solicited from everyone present, the problem is carefully considered and a disposition made. The guiding principle is, "what is best for this intern," not, "what did we do in the last case" or "what's best for the program?"

The same concern is reflected in the plans that are formalized as the CDP: in frequent conferences between interns and counselors; in the care with which hands-on sites are chosen; and in the self-paced learning packets that are used in the curriculum. Each became a way to demonstrate that interns are individuals and are in fact seen as such.

4. Provide Interns With Plenty of Honest, Fast Feedback. Let Them Know Where They Stand

> "All semester I tried to see my counselor. I couldn't get an appointment so I tried to figure out my credits myself. Then just three weeks before the end they told me I lacked three credits to graduate. I decided I'd just leave."

This is an extreme case, yet it echos a repeated concern. Students need to know where they stand. They need to know what they must do to finish and why. Failure to provide for these needs leads to confusion and discouragement. It also is read as lack of respect.

The CIP is careful to provide ample opportunity for interns to know where they are and how they are doing. The process starts on entry and continues in the classroom. When students enter CIP, they need to find out how many high school credits they have earned up to that point. For many this is the first time they are aware of their credit status. From then on, they are encouraged to keep informed of their academic progress. This means keeping track of credits they have, how many are needed for graduation and how to get them. They develop more concerned about the quality of their course work. They develop an interest in their progress as learners, not just in the number of credits they have earned. They tend to describe the difference between their former school experiences and their CIP experiences by saying that they are

learning more at CIP. And, they seek ways in which they can measure their learning--what do they know now that they didn't know before--and express pride in their progress. In the classroom the learning packets used are self-correcting. The mandatory frequent recitations are evaluated on the spot by teachers and fellow interns alike. Outside of the classroom, counseling sessions are required and regular. Counselors are required to keep up-to-date records of each intern's progress and share it with him/her in these sessions. Results of disposition conferences are communicated immediately to the intern through her/his counselor. Interns are required to update their CDP at least once each semester. In addition, interns are encouraged to ask teachers where they stand whenever they have any doubts.

These procedures for feedback are only part of the story. The CIP also attempts to make sure interns know what to do about their standings. They are not told they have problems without at the same time being given some directions for their resolution. The semesters are short. Provision is made for "recycling" if a course if failed. Since the program is non-graded, there is no opprobrium attached to repeating. All of these factors, together with the self-paced nature of the learning packet (which lets interns catch up, as well as go slower) contributes to the assurance that one is never hopelessly behind.

5. Trust Interns With a Major Role in Planning Their Own Program

In the CIP this means more than letting the intern choose a program from among a set of alternatives. Interns are required (with the help of their counselors) to take the major role in developing their own program. They decide what careers to investigate. They choose their own elective courses and decide what hands-on experiences they wish to pursue.

This approach takes time and patience and demands that interns be trusted. The returns, however, seem to be significant. Interns learn the importance of setting goals and how to do it. They are forced to accept the consequences of their own actions and have no one but themselves to blame when things go wrong. There is no good reason for their not knowing where they stand at any point in the program.

By the same token, self-planning can be a meaningful exercise only if a number of conditions are met. Staff must actually take the time to work patiently with interns. Information must be made available to interns so that their decisions are not made in a vacuum or based on misconceptions.

Counselors must keep abreast of the economic and employment picture. Intern progress must be carefully monitored and they must be informed if they fall back. Counselors must take the time to read student records and to listen to interns.

This may sound like just the approach used in almost every high school. Observations and interviews show a possibly critical difference in role. The counselors and teachers in high school often are seen as telling students what courses to take. The CIP counselors and teachers often are seen as sources of information about the consequences of different choices interns are considering.

"What good is history to a night guard?" Is the kind of question urban high school students frequently want answered if school is to make sense to them. Their experiences suggest that "night guard" may be a realistic job expectation. History, again from their experience, has little to do with their lives, or for that matter, much of anything outside of school. Yet to get through school they have to take it---with a good chance of failing.

There often appears to be no acceptable answer to this question for these students. School doesn't "make sense" and they dropout. This is the attitude CIP applicants bring with them. If they are going to stay, a solution to the dilemma must be provided. The CIP attacks the problem at several different points.

First CIP insists that, "history isn't what you always thought it was. In large measure, it is what you make it." Secondly, CIP holds some hope that, "you won't have to be a night guard--unless, of course, you want to." Finally, to make these changes come true it provides a new set of experiences, within the program, that makes them believable.

The essential features of how CIP seems to change attitudes have been sketched: Insist that specific goals which can be perceived as non-school-bound, be set and pursued. Don't treat interns like "students." See them as individuals and be sure to give them adequate feedback on their progress. Finally, prove concern by trusting them to plan their own program.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

A SENSIBLE CURRICULUM, A STAFF THAT IS RESPECTED

A look at the CIP course offerings doesn't show much difference from a similar list in one of the public schools. There are the required courses--mathematics, general science, English I, English II, history--a career counseling seminar and a few electives. A visitor to the school for a day might not see a great deal of difference either: the usual lectures, discussions, and individual or group projects would be going on. Looking more closely, however the visitor would notice some differences which might account for CIP's success, and be reproducible elsewhere.

1. Processes

The classes are smaller and more open-ended. Instructors go over individual lesson packets with various students early and late. The discussions revolve around things that have happened last night on the job, or this morning on the way to school. One probably would rarely hear the instructor say, "well, that's interesting but we have a lesson to go over this morning."

The instructor keeps everyone active, seldom letting a turned head, a shielding elbow, a far-away look or being hunkered-down in the corner permit an intern to avoid reciting in class.

Looking over the shoulders of interns as they worked through their lessons, few of them are working on the same thing. If they are, they are probably working with someone else.

Another aspect of process is the length and non-graded nature of the program. In the feeder high schools a student who fails a course is required to take a year's work over again. A student who has been "left back" stands out because grade levels are clearly marked. This is discouraging for students who are already having problems.

CIP semesters are only 22 weeks long and virtually no grade distinctions are made. Because grade levels are not distinguished, no opprobrium is attached to staying an extra semester.

Successful interns refer to this situation as important. Doing badly in a class is not as likely to lead to panic, to the feeling that one is falling helplessly behind and that since there is no way of catching up one might as well give up on the whole program. Interns tend to know

where they are, that they will be able to deal with problems they are having and how to go about doing this.

2. Content

Lessons are not bound in a book under the copyright of a publisher. They were prepared for the CIP by curriculum writers working with CIP staff. The lessons are short, clear, and easy to read. The activities included in them can be done without outside assistance. Lesson packets are written so anyone at the junior high reading level can understand them. They are designed to take about thirty minutes each to finish so they can be done whenever one has a few minutes, and so they won't get boring. They also are self-contained so they can be done at home, on the job or in study hall.

The content might also seem as somewhat unusual, particularly if one attended high school a few years ago or went to a suburban school. Even though the packets may be designed to teach English or math skills, they talk about things like "How to get good deals when you buy," "The Blues," and the "black literature of protest."

> "The last thing we did was interesting. Mr. R. had a sheet about the 18 year age for voting; and this here was fun cause the question was, 'Who made 21 the age to vote?' And we thought it was when our constitution was authorized, it was the age people considered best, right? But it was this answer, 'It was the age when a man could be a knight during the age of...' And now in different countries, they consider being a man at 18...the age supposed to be 18, you can do anything you want to do but people don't want to pass it...you could fight for this country or die for this country (at 18), you should be able to do anything."

The packets and classroom approach are intended to teach more than history or math: one of the more controversial issues in 1976 is whether classroom instructors can, or should, correct youth in non-academic areas. CIP's teachers correct bad grammar and faulty reasoning. They also draw attention to the clothes being worn, posture, hair styles and even tardiness as part of the curriculum. Praise for good performance in every aspect is liberal and immediate, but there is no question that CIP counselors and instructors try not to let any opportunity for teaching and guidance pass.

3. The Career Counseling Seminar

This course is required of all new interns. On most days there are at least two instructors and possibly three. A counselor, a teacher and a career advisor all are responsible for the class. On any given day, one might hear two interns give a detailed report on a career he or she had investigated. This is often followed by a lively discussion---including a good bit of criticism--on the report by the instructors and the fellow interns, particularly in light of individual career development plans. These sessions become peer group counseling. This is deliberate, both to develop a habit of relying on the contructive advice of friends and to bring a variety of perspectives to the discussion. In some of the more advanced courses, the extent to which this habit is developed is often shown by interns referring to their hands-on experiences, what they enjoyed about them, what they didn't and what they are doing in class or didn't work.

4. The Hands-On Experience

Interns learn how and why employers select, supervise, fire or promote employees. They learn what interpersonal skills and work habits are essential. They experience---often for the first time---what it's like in the big offices downtown or in the suburban fringes. The value of this kind of information should not be underestimated, given the histories of the interns.

For most middle-class Americans there may be nothing mysterious or surprising about the way employers view employees. While the two roles are not interchangeable, movement from one to the other can be a matter of linear progression. Being a "good" employee qualifies one, ideally, to become an employer. More importantly, there is no great difference between the "acceptable" behavior expected of employees and that considered "good" in general life contexts. That is, for middle class Americans, the things that define one as a "good" citizen, student, parent, teenager, etc., often are the things that define him/her as a "good" employee.

This means that there is a general agreement as to how one should dress, how people in authority should be addressed, what are appropriate reasons for being late, how direct or indirect questions should be, when it is best to pretend one knows and when to confess ignorance, when to ask for help and when to stubbornly go it alone, when working with someone is cooperation and when it is cheating--to mention just some of the behaviors by which we judge each other as responsible and competent. The CIP recognizes that black youth coming from poor homes don't necessarily

share these understandings. Almost no amount of factual knowledge about where to get job information or about careers themselves will compensate for this lack. A career program will only succeed in providing entry into "full, productive lives" as it provides this information.

Another important spin-off of providing this kind of information is that students know more about real chances, the personal risks and costs involved in any career pursuit. Again, this becomes crucial to long term program success for black school dropouts.

Careful grooming and creative job development by career advisors may serve to make entry into hitherto closed occupations possible for graduates. Ensuring that on-the-job problems will not re-open the cycle of failure demands graduates who know about work from the perspective employers and more mature employees.

It's apparently difficult to get this perspective in low-paid, high turn-over, entry-level work, the kind of jobs almost all interns have held prior to and during CIP. A youth visiting a workplace to learn seems to be treated very differently than a youth in the workplace as a paid employee to earn. This difference appears to be beneficial.

This is a controversial area in career education. One could argue, a priori, that youth probably can not learn anything worthwhile in two one-week placements. Perhaps there are better ways, but our observations suggest that these hands-on experiences as learners are new, and critical for these youth.

5. A Staff That Is Respected

"Respect" may not be a common high school student word. Students use other terms to describe what they look for in teachers, counselors or principals. They say things like:

> "Over there (in my other school) teachers wouldn't explain or nothing, but over here, you know, they take time to explain."
>
> "In the other school I could only see my counselor when he wanted to tell me about my program for next year. Here I can drop in anytime I want. I don't even need to get a pass."
>
> "It's like the high school teachers are saying, 'I got mine, now you get yours.' My teachers now, they really seem to care."

"Understand", "listen to me", "explain things", "fair"--these are the terms interns use in telling why they like their counselors and teachers.

CIP interns rarely talk about how much they know, where they've gone to school, whether their lectures are interesting or even if CIP gives too many tests. These apparently aren't the things that command respect of students. In fact, they don't seem to be important to learning at CIP. This probably is a good thing for the program, because the staff at the CIP are pretty much like the teachers and counselors in the public school system concerning these qualities. Some are good lecturers, some are dull. Some have formal State teaching certification, others don't. Some have gone to Ivy League schools, others to teacher colleges. They do have some traits in common.

6. Staff Believe In What They Are Doing

Most believe in what they are doing---although they differ in their ideas as to how it should be done. Some, for example, feel that basics should be stressed. Others emphasize technical skills. Still others would opt for more vocational training. Most of them are black and know first-hand what this means. They are all over worked and frequently complain about the paperwork and the meetings. Several of them have had experience in manpower training or other adult education programs. All share a belief that the CIP students can, will and must succeed, and that what they personally are doing can, will and must make a difference in these students' lives.

7. Flexible Time

The staff doesn't hurry through the last period class in order to leave by a certain time. Their working day usually ends at 4:00 p.m.---two hours after the end of the last class. There is no off-limits staff lounge to which they can retreat. They do their preparations in their classrooms or offices and the doors are usually open to interns.

8. Setting An Example: Staff

They seem to be remarkably conscious of their responsibilities toward interns. They don't come to school dressed in jeans and sweatshirts, because they feel interns should be alert that appropriate dress is important. They aren't "easy", but tend to be strict. They make interns take off their hats and expect to be called by title and last name. Few interns attempt to get away with breaking the rules.

9. Taking Time Voluntarily

Teachers take time to go over tests or reports, to check answers in the lesson packets, to sit and rap in the lunchroom and will plead an intern's cause in a disposition conference if they think she/he has been unfairly judged.

Counselors and interns are required to meet at least once a week. Counselors are expected to keep abreast of their interns' academic progress as well as their personal situations and are encouraged to keep in touch with parents.

Teachers and counselors are forced, through the seminars, the updating of Career Developing Plans and through conferences, to work closely with interns. The small class sizes and the individualized lesson packets which are reviewed daily by teachers enable the staff to keep informed of the skill level of interns, and foster the kind of personal relationship that permits problems be dealt with in a non-threatening manner.

These qualities appear to make the CIP staff respected by interns. They may not be available, or even desirable in another program or in another context. By whatever methods work, creating a staff that commands respect, however, seems essential to replicating CIP success, and seems relative to the comparison schools, to be a unique feature of the program.

10. Structures Giving Interns The Chance To Work Together

> The students over here talk to their students about going to class, getting an education and all that. Its the first time I ever heard that. It really shocked me. Everybody that's come here is here for one thing. That's to learn.

Talking about education, encouraging each other not to cut class and helping with coursework, are three of the ways interns support each other in the CIP. They also "get-on" each other when they cut-up, or fail to cooperate on projects:

As an example, about a year ago the overcoat of a visitor to CIP was stolen. Even before the staff could act, the inerns had mobilized, recovered the overcoat, returned it

to the visitor, and dealt with those involved. Such incidents as stealing personal possessions or school equipment is rare in CIP. The school, while not immune from problems, is "protected" in the neighborhood and, from within, by the interns' codes.

As another example, the CIP complex usually looks as if it had just been re-decorated. It hasn't. Interns and staff alike simply to not tolerate graffiti, destruction of property, or vandalism. The classrooms and halls are bright with posters and student art; they are not dingy or littered. The washrooms are clean at the beginning, middle and end of each day. This is not achieved by flying squads of custodians or hall patrols, although the custodian certainly works hard. It's achieved by the interns themselves.

Interns who insist that their friends help them now, have said that friends were one of the reasons for failing in school. These friends would be always willing to cut class, to smoke dope or to drink wine. They would support and egg each other on in disrupting classes. They exerted pressure, called names and made fun of each other if they tried to cooperate with teachers and do their work. They created a negative value for seriousness and provided a convenient excuse for one's shortcomings. The two situations---CIP and comparison schools---could hardly be more different, at least in appearance.

Why? In principle, the role played by friends in the CIP and peers in the high schools is not that different. Students usually establish an informal social system in any school. This system, based on their values, consists of rules of conduct and appropriate supporting sanctions. All too frequently, however, the students' values and the school values, as well as the student roles of conduct and the school-enforced rules, are at cross-purposes with each other. This tendency for students to band together becomes deterrent to learning rather than an asset. Students who are serious about their studies risk losing their peer support.[1]

---

[1]For discussions of this phenomenon see Ray Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education." Harvard Educational Review. Vol. 40, No. 3, August 1970, and McDemott, R. P. "Achieving School Failure: An Anthropological Approach to Illiteracy and Social Stratification." In Spindler, George, (ed). Education and Cultural Processes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1974.

In the CIP, the goals of interns are generally congruent with those of the program. There are several reasons for this, including the fact that the interns are self-selected--they come because they want to, the curriculum makes sense to them, staff are seen caring, they are taken seriously and not treated simply as "students" and almost everyone feels that this is a second and last chance that must be made the most of.

In summary, CIP seems to work for at least three reasons. First the curriculum is designed to be sensible for these students. This means the lessons are written at an eighth grade reading level, are short, private, with immediate feedback, and close relation between content and individual career plans. Second, the staff requires and gives respect Third, the structure and purpose of CIP encourage interns to work together constructively.

As discussed in the next chapter, if these "key features" have been accurately identified, they may offer considerable promise for adapting CIP. At least some features may be fairly easy to adhere to in most learning situations. Others, however, may require self-selection in the special, goal-oriented program.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

WHAT'S TRANSFERABLE?

The Career Intern Program has been tried only in Philadelphia, in the home neighborhood of Dr. Leon Sullivan, founder of OIC. While it has not been spared the hazards of development, the seed was deliberately planted in an environment where it was likely to flourish. In addition, it has received more attention from more gardners at OIC/Philadelphia, OIC/As, and NIE than most seeds get, perhaps at times to the point of over-attention.

At this time, assessment of what is necessary for CIP's success, what might be sufficient, and what is reproducible in other sites is speculative. Tables 14 and 15 summarize judgments based on experience with comparison schools, other experimental programs, the research literature and a complex interplay of data from three years of daily immersion in CIP.

In general:

(1) Almost all the factors examined probably are necessary in some degree if a similar program is to be as successful as CIP. The degree can't be specified. It can't be stated that if the principal spends 51% of his or her time as an educational leader this will be enough while 49% will be too little. A school system wishing to adopt much of CIP or to adapt it should probably try to provide as many of the general and specific factors listed as possible.

There is one exception: extensive start up and development costs probably are not necessary since the bulk of the developmental work on procedures and materials is completed. Guidelines, handbooks and technical assistance for installing CIP are available through OIC/A.[1]

---

[1]To arrange a site visit, order the materials or arrange for technical assistance, please contact: C. Benjamin Lattimore, Program Manager, c/o OIC/A, Inc., 100 W. Coulter Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19144; Telephone: (215) 849-3010

TABLE XXV WHICH GENERAL FACTORS PROBABLY CONTRIBUTING TO CIP'S SUCCESS SEEM NECESSARY, WHICH ARE SUFFICIENT, AND WHICH SEEM REPRODUCIBLE?

	FACTOR	NECESSARY	SUFFICIENT	REPRODUCIBLE
1.	The OIC ethos and Dr. Leon Sullivan's leadership	probably	no	in other sites by OIC, yes; by others, unknown
2.	Small school size	yes	probably yes	yes
3.	Principal as instructional leader	probably yes	possibly yes	yes
4.	As much money per pupil as vocational education	yes	no	yes
5.	Extensive start-up and development costs	no	no	not needed
6.	Some start-up and adaptation costs	yes	no	unknown
7.	greater flexibility than usual under union contracts	yes	possibly yes	unknown
8.	Hawthorne effect	probably no	probably no	yes
9.	Student selection	probably yes	probably yes	yes
10.	Extraordinary leadership	yes	possibly yes	probably yes
11.	Extensive monitoring	probably no	no	no

TABLE XXVI WHICH SPECIFIC FACTORS PROBABLY CONTRIBUTING TO CIP'S SUCCESS SEEM NECESSARY, WHICH ARE SUFFICIENT, AND WHICH SEEM REPRODUCIBLE?

	FACTOR	NECESSARY	SUFFICIENT	REPRODUCIBLE
1.	Supportive context for interns	yes	no	yes
2.	CIP as an instrument, not as a basis for social identity	probably yes	no	yes
3.	Deal with the whole intern	yes	probably yes	probably yes
4.	School experience congruent with realistic life goals	yes	probably yes	probably yes
5.	Don't buffer interns	yes	yes	yes
6.	Interns must set specific goals	yes	probably yes	yes
7.	don't treat interns like students	probably yes	no	yes
8.	see interns as individuals	yes	possibly yes	probably yes
9.	provide interns with a major role in planning their own program	probably yes	probably yes	yes
10.	trust interns with a major role in planning their own program	probably yes	probably no	yes
11.	learning packages infusing academic and career information at 10th, 11th & 12th grade levels	probably yes	no	yes

	FACTOR	NECESSARY	SUFFICIENT	REPRODUCIBLE
12.	Career counseling seminar (procedures)	probably yes	no	yes
13.	Hands-on experience (procedures	yes	probably yes	yes
14.	Staff attitudes	yes	probably yes	probably yes
15.	structures encouraging interns to work together	yes	probably yes	probably yes

(2) At present, no single factor or group of factors can be confidently identified as sufficient. Leadership, dealing with the whole intern, the consequence of school experience with realistic life goals, the individual attention to interns, prompt feedback with alternatives, the hands-on experience, staff belief in CIP, and the structures encouraging students to work together probably form a "necessary and sufficient" CORE, defining the program. Selection of these factors as the CORE has three bases: comparison of CIP and the feeder schools, what seemed to be present in the cases of successful interns but not as effectively provided to CIP dropouts, and changes over development of the program that seemed to make the most difference in operations and outcomes. This is, again, speculative and not based on independent measures of the factors as related to outcomes for the individual interns.

(3) In terms of reproducibility, there are some features of CIP that may be essential and may not be transferrable. Central to this is the OIC ethos: CIP is part of an organization enjoying a history of successful service to the poor and the oppressed of every color in every state. Without the support of OIC---emotional and spiritual as well as the transfer of trained OIC staff and know-how---CIP may not be reproducible. An additional feature may be the use of personnel who can do the job but who have not necessarily obtained formal certification. This also may not be reproducible in most school systems, although they are not unusual in alternative schools or educational programs not covered by negotiated contracts.

It therefore seems that fully reproducing CIP's effects will be most likely when OIC itself either operates the program or provides extensive technical assistance to adopting schools.

(4) Other factors seems reproducible in principle but a challenge in practice. Almost all of these require a diagnostic/prescriptive approach to career development. Those who have implemented a diagnostic/prescriptive approach to a relatively discrete skill such as reading can appreciate the staff training and materials needed.

Not all teachers seem able (or willing) to adopt an individualized approach; not all schools have the resources necessary to carry it out. Where the community is in part the school, and up-to-date career information has to infuse the curriculum, the demands for almost constant adaptation are intensified. Added to this is the fact that there is no single standard diagnostic "test" of career development linked to prescriptive exercises or texts in quite the way that is now possible for reading. The processes of CIP are well-spelled out; their exercise requires skill, judgment, and extensive world-of work experience.

Thus CIP seems reproducible in principle, but in practice, there are relatively few people now trained to operate such a program. As experience-based alternative programs for youth spread, however, the number of people oriented to their philosophy and skilled in their implementation will expand. Successful implementation of a variety of approaches should become easier. The how-to materials to operate what seems to be the core of CIP are available. If volunteer staff with skills in individualization are selected, CIP should be reproducible in practice.

(5) Some factors could probably be adopted widely to improve the quality of present practices.

---Provide all students prompt, accurate, frequent information on their distance from graduation and alternative ways to receive their diploma.

---Expand the career counseling resources, particularly for non-college bound students, by all means possible, including use of community learning experiences, helping teachers provide career advice, and otherwise increasing access to career guidance for all youth.

---Emphasize road-maps. A large number of youth entered CIP with a career goal and almost no sense of how to get there beyond the most superficial level ("go to college" without knowing the entry requirements for any college or even how to find these out).

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20208

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, $300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEW
HEW 396

Education and Work Group
National Institute of Education
Washington, D. C. 20208

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20208

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, $300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEW
HEW 396

Education and Work Group
National Institute of Education
Washington, D. C. 20208

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20208

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, $300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEW
HEW 396

Education and Work Group
National Institute of Education
Washington, D. C. 20208

214

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20208

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, $300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEW
HEW 396

Education and Work Group
National Institute of Education
Washington, D. C. 20208

215

Please send the following publication to:

(Name)

(Address)

(City, State, Zip)

Please send the following publication to:

(Name)

(Address)

(City, State, Zip)

Please send the following publication to:

(Name)

(Address)

(City, State, Zip)

Please send the following publication to:

(Name)

(Address)

(City, State, Zip)